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GRAMISM

GRAMISM

THE NEW RENAISSANCE OF INDIA

By

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INTRODUCTION BY

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PREFACE

WHAT shall I say ?

The sands of time are running out, and India is not a free country. The world order is changing shape and colour, and the land of India is vibrant with the sounds of scuffle and strife, suffering and sacrifice. Thrones have tottered, races have risen in revolt, and revolution is in the ear and heart of humanity who starve and search for light and harmony in a crashing social order.

The war is on. Men and women are courting death and destruction with a resoluteness and preparation which stagger calculation. The fuse is lit in Europe. India unwittingly and unconsciously is bearing the burden, and helplessly watching the scourge of war, apprehending even internal strife and stray insurrection.

At this crisis in history, I venture to offer to India and her multi-millions village peoples, whose taxes maintain the British supremacy, a new synthesis for national unity, national solidarity and national authority. I call it—*Gramism*—because it is born of the Village—(Gram is the Indian equivalent for Village)—and it is constructed around the Village for the whole of India, which lives in over three quarter million villages and whose hundred cities are sheer abortions of all that is beautiful and loveable in India. The Gramist Synthesis is a call to life and a message of resurrection. *Its mission is renaissance.* Its task is the achievement of a creative revolution within a generation for the work of a century. The men and women of India, its patriotic intelligentsia and its public workers and village citizens, I trust, will find in *Gramism* a converging ground for common policy and action to secure a polity and a system which may enable India to make herself a Sovereign Power, and ensure lasting friendship with Great Britain. My strivings and searchings for

two decades have found a conclusive expression in *Gramism*.

For all these hundreds of simple unlettered village folk whose roofs gave me shelter and whose hearts gave me perennial inspiration, who are the image and symbol of India, now and in the coming age, I have love; and for their cause I have a reverence which it is not possible to put in words. In all these years of solitary toil and unspoken suffering, I have found a balm in the good will of a few loyal colleagues and chosen associates whose sympathy has healed many a wound of spite and venom, time and treachery, heartened many a bitterness of disappointment, and enlivened the agony of despair.

To Dr. Anandshanker Dhruva, the eminent savant of Hindu culture and Sanskrit lore, I owe the idea of 'Synthesis,' since 1909, which has been an impelling force in my life, and which kept me onwards, steadfastly seeking a *real national synthesis*, natural to the soil and peoples of India, indifferent to the small gifts of society and pleasure or prosperity.

To lady Vidyagavri Ramanbhai, who has truly supported me in all my rural activities with understanding and sympathy, I owe a debt which I cannot repay.

To my mother who tolerated my rural wanderings, and to my wife who suffered with me privation and insecurity, and to my two little daughters, who often watched me vanishing at nights for a village visit with brimming eyes, bravely waving their little hands, I am deeply indebted for their permission to live for the village, without complaint and with an indulgent smile.

To the peoples of the villages and my country, I once again tender my homage and present this work—*Gramism*—in the hope and trust, that they will find in it their soul and their power for making a New India.

Khedut Office
Ahmedabad (India)

RAM RAI

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INTRODUCTION

THIS is a work on a subject of the utmost vital interest, concerning the welfare of a vast majority of the population of this country, for India consists of innumerable villages whose inhabitants are the real people of this great continent. Their uplift,—economical, cultural, political and social—should be the greatest concern for those who wish this country well. On that depends the future of our nation. The villages and villagers have of late attracted the attention of the Government as well as public workers, and “village uplift” has become the slogan of all parties as much as independence, political freedom and democracy. But how this is to be achieved is not so easy as it may seem. A patch here and a patch there cannot take us to the proper goal. A concrete and detailed scheme for village remaking in all its aspects in our national life, fitted into the State-structure, with a philosophy of real patriotism broad-based on the peoples’ prosperity and power, and a complete synthesis which can be the motive force of masses’ energy is the real need. This work strives to supply that need. The subject is a vast one and requires deep study of the peoples whose “resurrection and renaissance” it aims to achieve. A close intercourse with the villagers, constant observation of their lives, sympathy for their grievances and understanding of their needs and aspirations are necessary to comprehend any synthetic policy and plan for the Indian masses. Without such understanding, born of personal and continuous contact, which alone can create the trust and confidence enabling the seeker to appreciate the rural masses, it would not be possible to think out any lasting national policy or plan.

The author of this work—Mr. Ram Rai—has moved among villagers for these twenty years, long before any ‘village uplift’ programme interested the public. He has made the village work the one sole object of his life. It is the work

for which he has spent the best years of his life with a spirit of dedication giving up a professional career in law which could have made him with his talents a very rich person indeed. But an incident in his early life had a deep significance and set him to think with fiery sympathy for the poor.

Early in his teens, he saw a poor villager carrying wood robbed of his bundle, and beaten brutally for temerity to ask for an adequate price, by a petty constable. This incident kept him awake for nights and it was a land mark in his life. It was the period of the Bengal partition agitation and intense political awakening. He became a convert to the new nationalism with a firm resolve to do every thing he could, to redeem 'the villager' into a freedom and competence in which he could never be robbed and beaten by any person; and hence for years he set himself as a seeker to know and realise village life cherishing the hope of helping to solve this mighty problem of the Indian sub-continent.

Though himself the only son of affluent parents, brought up in luxurious surroundings, he has struck this self-chosen line of work involving self-denial and heavy sacrifice of all that society holds dear. He has not spared himself in any way, unmindful of all but his search for light to probe this riddle of the village in the scheme of Indian nationalism. He has, in spite of adversity and cavil, not wavered from the mission to which he has consecrated his life, *viz.*, work for the ignorant and poverty stricken brethern of his own country. His hope is infinite and his untiring zeal is wonderful and his faith has remained unquenched. For those village masses, whom he loves as his kith and kin as the blood and bone of India, he has worked out this comprehensive synthesis. It may seem ambitious and it may be regarded as beyond practical politics. But every great idea that has been dubbed impossible, if it had the germ of truth, has always won in the end. *Time* alone can justify the *truth* of this *Gramism*.

We can speak with our experience of several years' association with the author of this work—Mr. Ram Rai. The author has spent many years in preparing himself for the great work he has undertaken. He has thoroughly mastered all literature concerning the subject matter long before he actually initiated himself with the rural 'mass contact' in the villages, which he began in 1924 and has taken fifteen years' study of the life of the villages for maturing the thoughts crystallised in this work. Thus he is amply equipped both theoretically and practically for presenting a well considered plan of Indian nationhood based on the rural masses.

Dadabhai Navroji's great work on "Poverty and un-British Rule in India" gave the author of this work an inspiration to study the problem of economic welfare of the country, and he discovered it to be inherently associated with political power. He has been a Congressman since he served as a volunteer of late Lokmanya Tilak at the Surat Congress under Dr. M. K. Dixit. When the call to sacrifice came in 1930 from the Indian National Congress he courted jail twice during the Satyagraha Movement. He has been also a member of the All India Congress Committee.

The reader will find this work to be of absorbing interest and value. It begins with a panoramic survey of India from ancient time to the present in a vivid pen-picture showing the position of the village in the olden times and describing how it broke down during recent times. It presents to us the village as the fulcrum of Indian national life. It clearly brings out that the cultivator and craftsman are the real people of India and tells us what their needs and aspirations are. These are not affected by religious differences. There is no tinge of communalism among villagers, for their daily life consists of mutual help, co-operation and common goal. These traits which are inherent in the village people are sought to be developed and definitely shaped by the synthetic reconstruction based on *Gramism*. *Gramism*, therefore, has the greatest potentiality of becoming a powerful cementing force and creator of the basic unity of India.

A glance at the various aspects of *Gramism*, given in the first pages (and these have been elaborated in full details in separate chapters) goes to show the entire topical area covered by the whole synthesis. It will be seen by a close and careful study of this work that *Gramism* can certainly solve the socio-economic problems if properly organised and established. If we take into consideration the fact that the population of more than three quarter million villages is ninety per cent. of India, a new system and socio-political plan with their intensive development and progress as its objective must be considered to affect the whole nation and India.

The author has tried to base his ideas in a policy so adjustable that all could offer willing co-operation in this tremendous work of *Gramism*, which for the millions of rural masses and working class should become their religion and gospel. The ideals, policies and programmes stated in this work are sure to attract the masses and attach them to *Gramism* as a source of new faith, hope and energy for their redemption.

The author Mr. Ram Rai belongs to one of the most respectable families in the Province of Gujarat, who served the British Government as Judges for four generations and who were in early times Secretaries to the Surat Nawabs with traditions of similar service with the Mogul Emperors at Delhi. His father Mr. Mohan Rai, Judge, took particular care to educate him with special attention to politics and placed him under a very competent tutor, Professor, O. V. Muller of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, after graduation. He started life as a journalist in the *Bombay Chronicle* founded by the late Sir Pherozshah Mehta, where he received his training under Mr. B. G. Horniman, the champion of Indian liberties. He then entered the profession of Law where he had ample opportunity to mix with villagers whose unfortunate and helpless conditions brought out his inner self-sacrificing spirit and stiffened his resolve for their amelioration, so much so, that for the last twenty years he has devoted himself whole-heartedly

to their cause, setting aside his flourishing practice. The problem of re-modelling villages and village life as a part of nation-making has been his sole purpose in life, and it is his conviction that a constitution for India can never be ultimate and final unless based on villages.

The author has not merely thought and planned. He has guided peasant struggles in villages and areas in Daskroi and Ahmedabad. The author is a tough fighter and an astute leader of peasantry, and the successful struggle of the twelve thousand peasantry of the little State of Mansa, which he directed for six months with the support of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, is a remarkable testimony of the confidence and courage he can inspire among the village people. With twenty years of self-denying service for his country well equipped both practically and theoretically he now presents this work—*Gramism*—as a new dynamic faith for future India. His work is the result of intimate association with rural peoples as well as his minute study of political science and its modern developments and their bearing on India. He has tried to give a concrete shape to what he has gathered during his vast experience, and what he firmly believes to be the way of salvation for the great masses of India, and consequently to the whole nation.

For British statesmen and thinkers, *Gramism* will offer deep food for reflection. For all Indians, *Gramism* aims to offer the foundations of Unity and Power. Let us hope that patriots and well-wishers of India will carefully study *Gramism* and consider the synthesis it offers with a fairness and regard for the single object of India's freedom and welfare and world position.

Ahmedabad

VIDYAGAURI R. NILKANTH

A. B. DHRUVA

PART I
A RETROSPECT

CHAPTER I

LIGHT ON THE PAST

The Era of Ramayana

It is the dawn of history—dim and distant. A mighty continent lies fallow. Ocean rivers irrigate nothing. Many millions of aboriginal races and the royalty of learning—a forest civilisation and magnificent personal culture—a monopolist intellectualism and a beneficent monarchy—pillars of porphyry and pavements of silver, panels of rubies and walls of gold, windows of sandal and ceilings of emeralds adorning the rich imperialist capital—Ayodhya. Around in the vast hinterland, a people of the woods and pastures,—half-naked, unclothed, starving, ignorant, bringing the tribute of their toils to the King's treasure—that was the era of Ramayana. Human envies, human lusts triumphed and prevailed. A woman's viles and a favourite queen's dishevelled hair and agonised looks turn the scales of justice. Truth—Ramachandra—is the victim. Purity—Sita—is the sacrifice. A continent and races bear the ordeal. Yet the royal exiles' forest wanderings from the Ganges to Rameswaram are a march of conquest subjugation and exploitation, until genius—Ravan—is challenged and freedom is persecuted.

The plea is historic—the spread of culture—the uplift of races, the protection of the weak and the saving from oppression. From Ravan of Lonka to Hail Selassie of Abyssinia, it is the old and ancient imperialist cry—the eternal law of exploitation, the loot of the masses, the denial of beneficence to the toiling proletariat, and the hypnotic doctrine of contentment in poverty invented by the rich and supported by their henchmen—the priests—to deceive humbler humanity and to rot the world's worker for ever and ever.

The imperial victor's triumphant return and a royal husband's selfish egoism, the revolt of youth and the oblivion of suffering womanhood; acquisitiveness, injustice and revolt—the changeless law of humanity—run their everlasting course. The cycle of history speeds on—India, Babylon, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, the Mongols, the Turks, the Moors, the Franks, the Danes, the Britons. Today, it is Japan, Germany, Italy—international dacoity and continental terrorism. The same hateful false cry of civilisation rings in the world—the crunchings of the bones of vanquished races send a ghastly shudder among humanity. Cruel death marked as beneficence stalks the land, the sea, the air. It is the eternal agony of the greed of the mighty and the temerity of the many—the lust of conquest, and the torture and squeeze of the unprepared weak peoples.

Who will free the millions but the Youth-resurgent, active, efficient, disciplined, to work out a Revolution and a Renaissance ?

The Moral of Mahabharat

It is the fateful field of Kuru-Kshetra—the maker of history. Two mighty hosts are arrayed in battle. Destiny laughs. Death is the harvester. Why? What has happened?

It is the arrogance of imperialism. It is the claim for a part in the prerogative of power for the profits of exploitation. It is the demand in the loot of the poor denied by the mighty to the spirited few. Justice and Right are again the watchwords to charm ignorant peoples to bleed for the powerful ones.

It is the blind ambition of the rich of the earth—for a share of spoils—it is the lust for dominion. In the State-reception hall of the Kaurava Monarchs, the tragedy of the world is being played out. The noblest and the bravest watch with greedy misty eyes. The spectacle is immortal—the play of dice and the dominion of the earth,—in the stakes—empire or exile, the queen of glory or a kingdom. Gods and saints breathlessly watch the game in mute

horror. It is lost. The pearl of India is carried to the Court of the Kauravas. Her protectors hide ashamed and abased. Saints protest in vain, and the martyrdom of womanhood begins its tale of woe, and the wail of tyrannised woman has shrieked unheard ever since; and so the struggle waves on, until it is war, and the million hosts have met.

In their midst runs the chariot of war, driven by the Blue God. The Crimson God—Hanuman—bears their standard of Revolt. The Pandav Commander—Arjun—the King of Captains, watches and thinks “in vain is the struggle, why this waste of death, why the conquest, what for, why, why?” This is the eternal cry of the soul—the secret struggle of the intellectual, the spiritual and the ambitious; and the Blue God—the Doyen of the Aryan race—Krishna—the supreme strategist, and the greatest moralist of Truth answers firmly—“Commence. It is the law of life—creation and annihilation—the law of fecundity and destruction—the law of ceaseless change and ruthless advance, projected into humanity and nature, politics and commerce, science and arts, culture and society. Strike, the moment has come, the moment is nigh and now. The universal principles which ordain life and events are immutable. Their work is continuity. You are but their deputy. Strike and win for thy race and country, Truth and Honour and Justice.”

The plea remains—the persons alternate. Culture and all creations' beneficence are the trust of humanity—the sacred mission of intellectuals and rulers—betrayed too often—debased always—but always the eternal motive of the noblest efforts. Rome, Japan, Italy, Germany are symbols of conquest. Britain and Russia remain the two out-posts of modern civilisation: Britain—quiet, dignified, decorous but determined, conventional but intensely advancing and changing forms and institutions and social life; and Russia—insurgent and revolutionary—torn and bleeding—learning and practising a novel social philosophy, fanatical in its new truth, and fierce in protecting its new-found culture. The struggle is ever the same—conquest for

power and greed, or culture for creations' beneficence—two vital forces bisecting humanity into bleeding camps. History watches. Mighty men and rulers strive to soften the strife of life, the upheaval of the down-trodden, the earthquake of earth's starving toilers—shaking states and creating society. India feels the tremors. Will the sons of India tremble for the future? 'No'. *The toiling peasantry of India will decide their destiny and rule their country.*

Pre-British Period

Thousands of years have rolled by. The Grecian conqueror has disappeared. A genius appears to recreate the lost Aryan Empire. The forests of Patliputra have nurtured the creative mind of Kautilya Chanakya. His quill has penned an immortal masterpiece of state-craft and state-organism. His invincible will has restored the dispossessed to the throne of Magadha. Vast conquests tender their tributes of territory to the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya. An age of peace and culture dawns. It is the era of Asoka—the crown of ancient India's glory and power. Life flows smooth. The laws are equable. The caravans pass in security. The East and the West pour their riches on the land of the Ganges. The edicts of Asoka engraved on pillars, which survive the scythe of time, declare to the world the might and magnanimity of a noble monarch. But this satiety of dominion has rusted the steel of mind and crumpled the lotus of heart. The vast structure is in pieces. Out of the ruins has arisen the Rajput Confederacy and the power of the Chauhans, the Sisodias, the Rathores, the Solankis, the Vaghelas and the Jadejas.

On the throne of Delhi sits Prithviraj Chauhan—the chosen of the Rajput race.—A woman's shadow lengthens long on the horizon. The wizardries of Queen Samyukta—enthralls a kingdom. The charms of a floral body showering cascades of coquetry captivate a hero, while the future of the Hindu race trembles. Beyond the lofty hills of the Hindu Kush is heard the tramp of horsemen and marching hordes. The Ghory has come, again and again to

be vanquished. But *treachery* seals the doom of the country's liberty. Prince Jaichand of Kanauj—discomfited and greedy—barter away the freedom of India for the hope of a throne at the feet of a foreign conqueror. On the fields of the Punjab, Rajput honour and Rajput pride have bled its last for Hindu Independence. The soul of freedom then fled; and the spirit of selfishness and treachery remained, to germinate and foul the history of over a thousand years of national submergence, until Shivaji's national resurrection, again to be blighted by the treachery of ministers who became sovereigns and generals who became rulers. With the fall of Prithviraj, the pall of night hung over India for several hundred years, until there came the dawn of a new century with the epoch of Akbar the Great. With Akbar commenced a hundred years of Mogul refulgence of power and prestige and plenty which made India the envy of the world. Balkh and Kabul received their commands from Delhi. Kashmir became the fairy land of the Mogul Court. The writ of the Mogul Emperor ran through the Punjab and Oudh and Bihar and Bengal and Malwa and Gujarat and the Deccan. The proud Princes of Rajputana tendered allegiance. Akbar ruled with liberality and magnanimity and left to Jehangir the heritage of the greatest Empire in Asia. This mighty empire mused in the poetry of the royal romance of Nur Jehan—the beautiful maiden married off to save a crown prince from infatuation—a pearl of charm and grace at whose widow's feet an emperor spread the petals of a torn heart. At last she smiles assent. Asia witnessed the fulfilment of an imperial lover's dreams and the Court of Delhi blossomed like spring in paradise where the light of the world rayed wisdom and justice and valour and music. A page of history unfolds the scene of a queen admonishing a rebellious commander while her royal husband lay a captive in the gardens of Lahore. Jehangir passes away. With Shah Jahan commences half a century of magnificence and might. The Peacock Throne adorned the world's most luxurious Court. That immortal monument in architecture—the Taj Mahal—a poem in marble—which even today after several centuries transcends human

conception in beauty and grace memorised to eternity the soul of a poet-emperor and a lover-husband who created it for his divinity—the Empress Mumtaz Mahal. The earth heaves its sigh of pain to imagine this imperial captive in the Agra Fort gazing ever and always on the Taj. A hush has fallen—Shah Jahan is passing. In a feeble voice the royal wish is heard—“help me round to view the Taj.” The passing Emperor’s eyes grow dim in death drinking in Taj’s ethereal beauty and the sweet memory of his heart’s deity.

A few years and the Mogul throne totters. Aurangzeb—the victor of revolt is the victim of his distrusts and treacheries. Far out in Rajputana, the rulers are awakened to a new freedom inspired by the indomitable struggle of Shivaji in the south, whose will and faith have recreated the hope of a Hindu restoration. But Hinduism has lost its conscious power and its political integration. The Rajput princes will not unite. Shivaji’s successors are effete. Power passes to the Brahmin Ministers; and the Peshwas consolidate an era of conquest and tribute. His vassals rear up kingdoms at Gwalior, Indore, Baroda. The genius of Nana Fadnavis—the last of the great statesmen—stemmed the inevitable disintegration for a time. The Maratha Empire could not survive even as a Confederacy after Sadashiv Rao Bhau’s heroic defence of Hindu restoration and Indian independence on the oft-fought fields of Panipat against the Durani’s invasion helped by the Jat’s betrayal, the jealousy of allies and treachery of colleagues.

East India Company

The dominions of the Moguls and the Marathas vanished to be replaced by the power of a commercial corporation—the East India Company—whose unity and fidelity to their country won for Britain her Asiatic Dominion in India. It is the darkest chapter in India’s history. Who can forget that Umeichand—the Bania—the banker-financier—closed the chapter of national treachery begun by Prince Jaichand of Kanouj—with the sale of Bengal to Clive ? Who can read without shame how the Maratha Rulers would not

confederate for their own supremacy? But that was the heritage of that Rajput betrayal centuries earlier. None thought of the country; each schemed and intrigued for himself—his dominion—his dynasty. It was only the foreign merchant—the alien administrator and general—who conceived and practised this supreme ideal of duty to the country, the people and the state, regardless of person, and above all partisanship or politics and achieved and constructed a paramount central authority united in aim and policy and fulfilled the vacuum of centuries. For over a hundred and fifty years the Britisher has been unconsciously forging Indian unity while robbing India of its wealth and Indians of their self-esteem. But that is another story.

The Sikh Power

And there is another picture. In the north, in that era of Muslim supremacy, in the very midst of Muslim power, had arisen a militant faith—Sikhism. Its founder Guru Nanak had conceived of a fusion of conflicting beliefs. His successors had expanded it; and the greatest of their Gurus—Guru Govindsingh—had, with the insight of a true leader, converted the devotee into a soldier. Nothing could suppress the growing power of the new cult. Torture and persecution vitalised the Sikh Order and spread its virility in widening circles. The land of the five rivers became the camp of the Sikh Confederacy. A powerful kingdom reared itself on the banks of the Ravi. Its warriors watered their horses in Kabul in Afghanistan and rested in the flower-laden valley of Srinagar. Its remarkable soldiery for long defied and withstood the British encroachments in the North. At last Sikhism lost its sovereignty but it retained its integrity. The Sikhs missed their mission in self-complaisance, self-indulgence and selfishness as the Rajputs and the Marathas did before them. That traditional ulcer—sectionalism, localism and personalism—has been the curse of India since a thousand years, until British Imperialism created the calamity of universal disarming and economic emasculation, which has

now produced a unified nationalism among the Indian peoples who had forgotten the meaning of nationhood. The Sikhs are yet a power and it must be their new mission to offer their sacrifices for a Free India and share with the fine Pathans the defence of the Indian frontier. It is their mission with the Muslims and the Rajputs to restore the ancient Aryan and Mogul frontier in the North and to share in the new destiny of the Indian peoples for the *Sovereign Indian Confederacy* of the coming generation.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLES OF INDIA—THE PEASANT AND THE VILLAGE

ALL this is a portraiture of ruling powers on the shifting screen of history. What of the peoples? What of the life and hopes and anxieties of the toiling millions all over this fair land of Hindustan during these centuries, when kingdoms rose and fell, and empires blossomed and decayed? In all these ages of travail, the condition of the peasant—the cultivator of the soil—the producer of food—remained a tragedy. The lands changed masters and authority changed personnel, but the tiller paid his tribute with his toil and blood. His labour paid for the treasury of the monarch and his lieutenants. His body paid for the military adventures which brought his master dominion and glory. He lived in his hut, sweltered in the sun, worked in the hail and storm of August rains, shivered in the wintry December reaping his harvest, and awaited calmly the loot of his labours. Cheerfully he shared out his produce—a little for the priest, the teacher, the apothecary, the barber, the potter, the carpenter, the smith, the mason, the scavenger, the cobbler, the tanner, the guardsman, the clerk, the headman—even the birds and the infirm cattle, and the Gods of rain and health and plenty. The State took its half or one-third. The village paid its toll to the heirarchy of rulers—low and high—and slumbered for the rest of the year.

Often his fields were laid waste, and his crops sequestered by warring forces. Often its over-lord changed allegiance. Often it found authority exchanged and imposed. In all these changes, the peasant remained the producer and the tax-payer and the village remained suppressed in sullen indifference. None cared for the village and the village cared for none. While captains carved kingdoms and

armies battled, the INDIAN VILLAGE retained its autonomy and conserved its local authority. The Village Assembly was the local parliament—the final arbiter and authority and its Panchayat of village elders was its chief executive, and the headman—*Mukhi*—was its chief and representative and spokesman. The Panchayat ordained the pasture area and distributed the tillage, collected all dues, and arbitrated in disputes, fined the offenders and punished the guilty. Its sanctions were boycott and fines and even exile.

The VILLAGE had its code of conduct, its lofty ethics, its fine chivalry, its charity and hospitality, its supreme sense of honour and rectitude, its fine spirit of duty and discipline, its beautiful conception of sacrifice and service for the community, the common cause and commonweal of the village. The INDIAN VILLAGE continued throughout these centuries, the administrative and economic unit—autonomous and self-sufficient—self-governing and self-protecting—the very source of prosperity and the home of a wonderful rural culture, which remained supreme throughout a thousand years of wars and strifes, incessant internecine struggles and local battles; and it subdued its foes, defied disintegration, and assimilated radicalism, without affecting its morals or economics or altering its authority. In all these ages the Indian VILLAGE conserved its sound economic life, its ethical code and charming culture; it preserved its local power unimpaired and made its Panchayat impregnable and indispensable to the ruler or conqueror. Ten centuries had established the Indian VILLAGE as the invincible power and unconquerable force for the prosperity and general peace of the whole country, and it survived as the unquenchable reservoir of a civilisation and an inspiration of lofty ideals and noble deeds of magnanimity and sacrifice, which astonished learned visitors from foreign lands. The Indian VILLAGE produced its saints and lovers, its teachers and martyrs, its jurists and rulers, its captains and its heroes. Its life was an integrated whole. Its existence was a completely developed organisation of self-respecting self-sufficiency. Throughout the ages it produced generations of stalwart workers who toiled for

their families, served their society, sacrificed for their village and reared up fine traditions which struck British administrators in the early era, for their refinement, for their cohesiveness and their morals. All over the countryside in India, the VILLAGES had evolved an *order* of their own, and a *system* of exchange, co-operation and protection, which sustained their community-life in harmony and plenty—with perfect discipline and a code of duties—exercising a greater authority on the conscience and conduct of the village than any *external* law or command, because they had a *moral sanction* and a *spiritual value*. The conventions of the village community were an unimpeachable social force and constituted an inspiration for moral exaltation and an aspiration for great and good deeds. Social life was enlightened and village life basked in bliss and the security of their autonomy, with their local pride, and their courteous dignity and liberality. Self-respecting and self-supporting, the VILLAGES developed a civilisation of contentment and calm, and a culture which permeated the whole country and influenced its intellectual political and socio-economic structure for centuries. The Indian VILLAGE had evolved crafts and arts and music which reflected the brimming and bountiful nature all round. Their architecture nourished the spirit of the sublime and the simple. Their tanks, their reservoirs, their lanes and avenues, their temples and mosques, their playgrounds, their sweet smelling orchards and their dharma-shalas and sarais and their khalas and chowras displayed their public interest and their fine pride which considered it ungracious and unrighteous to sell fruits or flowers or milk or honey. Theirs was not a civilisation of the market place and merchants. Theirs was a culture of the beautiful and the bountiful—the culture of the soil and sunshine—labour and love—which created plenty and conquered over calamities. The VILLAGE was the purveyor of food, fodder and funds and the furnisher of soldiery, and it preserved itself in its immaculate quiet and aristocracy, with its democracy, undaunted by despots' tyrannies, dynastic feuds or feudatory wars. The secret of supremacy of the VILLAGE

in India lay in its having inherited the soul of the Rishis—the divine thinkers and lovers of nature and knowledge—who evolved the beautiful Vedas of Hindus and the cult of Sufism of Islam.

Thus the Indian VILLAGE lived its life in completeness, full of colour and rich with noble idealism. Its womanhood was protected and honoured, and chastity and domestic purity were a sacred trust of the whole community and a duty inculcated in the cradle. The women folk were help-mates, aiding in the reaping and harvesting, and looking to the dairy, the domestic granary, household cleanliness, and comfort of family members and guests. Hospitality was an art practised with a polite insistence and refinement, with a wish to please, that it reared the doctrine of sisterhood with which men charged themselves to rush to the succour of women who had looked up to them as brothers. The villages had their romances of loves and renunciations. Here, under a banyan's shadows, a lad plays the flute while a passing maiden slyly shoots coy looks, but years of devotion remain unfulfilled and the young man, foiled in love, rides out for adventures for the glory of the beloved or dons the hermit's cowl in memory of a disappointed or disillusioned attachment. Here, a cortege of brave men escorting a newly-wed maiden to her 'Sasri,' bleed and die to protect her from rape or ransom. There, a dacoit chief, learning that in the gay chariot lay a little maid laden with jewellery on her way to her heart's lord, bowed low and offered his arm for the sacred silken ringlet, assuring her of his loyal aid as a true brother and watched her departure, with his special gifts under his lieutenants, charged for her safety, while he tended to the wounds of the cavaliers; nor were the young and old less eager in defence of their crops or kine. Here and there, these small stone pillars memorialise the heroic deeds of men who tendered their lives in the defence of their villages, and thus knightly chivalry guided the course of village justice and administration. Here is a large family with little land. The village authority apportioned equitably a few more acres from the

village area. Here is a family-feud for a succession or division, a complaint of ill-treatment or injured pride or unpaid loan or deliberate insult or malicious mischief. It is amicably settled by the Village Panchayat and its verdict is accepted as the decree of fate. In the hush of the late evenings, the village folk gathered for prayer and *katha* to listen to the great epics of yore or tales of glory and sacrifice from the Manbhat or the bard. After the rains, the village celebrated the wonderful 'Nine Nights' for the Goddess of Power—Shakti—and finished their merriment with the sports and athletics of 'Dassera'—the 'sports-carnival'—and the joys of Diwali—the festival of lights—with seried little lights and flashing crackers and fire-works. The harvest is over and the spring is come. Bedecked with flowers and armed with the saffron syringe for the Holi—the festival of youth—old and young—men and maids—whistle in dance to the tune of music and rippling laughter. And then it is the holy month of Ramzan; millions and millions of Mussalmans fast and pray, and then it is the great Mohurram—the epic of Hussein's self-immolation—the noblest example of self-sacrifice, and the Mussalmans celebrate the tragedy in national grief and mourning in which Hindus join in multitudes; and then there is the "Id"—to celebrate the glory of the Holy Prophet—Mohammad Rasul Allah—who created a new civilization and society in the sands of Arabia and called it Islam (peace)—which established empires and erected architectural monuments of beauty like the Mosque of St. Sophia in Istanbul and the Taj Mahal at Agra,—and sang in immortal verse the Holy Koran. Then the gaiety is greater with the joys of marriage season festivities; and then the village settles itself in the burning sun for the labours of the rain-sowings; and thus for hundreds of years in the lakhs of villages in India, two cultures and creeds have harmonised, and two societies—Hindus and Muslims—have lived the same life of labour and service, participated in the same responsibilities and benefits, enjoyed the same sports and amusements, with common aims and common purposes of the Village and

its polity society and economy. It is this harmony and unity which ensures the future nationhood of India, founded in its rural community with all its rich tradition of heroism, sacrifice and chivalry, for noble ideals of service, duty and honour in the cause of the village and the State.

CHAPTER III

THE VOICE OF BRITAIN

SUCH was the Indian Village and the triumphant village community, which had survived ages to face the British Administrator, as an impregnable phalanx against the penetration, which in a century had created an Empire out of a trading company. The story of the East India Company reads like a romance, but it has disclosed a method, a system, a fore-thought and a fixed purpose, often accommodating policies to the expediency of the moment, but maintaining a continuity of design and fixity of aim. The prudent and sagacious rulers in England had one aim—dividends—the revenues of commerce, and one design—internal peace and tranquillity—for developing and flourishing their trade. They had a fixed purpose—political influence for economic power; and they devised a system of securing co-operation of Indians in their own subjugation and exploitation. They had a policy—appearing to safe-guard the powerful and protect the poor—and operating ceaselessly for the weakening of the old institutions and the deadening of old traditions. They had one fore-thought—utilisation of India for Britain's prosperity and greatness, its preservation as an imperial and international ally. It is this unwritten fixed gospel which has shaped the British policy of administrative reforms and political devolution and economic concessions. But this gospel in action has decapitated the spirit of the country by administrative centralisation and universal disarming which deprived the people of their confidence and courage. With an economic vassalage which impoverished the peasantry, and a political serfdom which demoralised the Hindu-Muslim peoples, aiming to secure their alien consolidation, the British system in India, with the wish to conserve, scientifically killed the VILLAGE by robbing it of its autonomy and authority, its initiative and enterprise, and by crushing

its free spirit under the boot of the administrator and the loot of its countless subordinates. British rule has given India a uniformity of laws and a political system by destroying utterly the corporate life of the peoples. It established the unity of paramountcy over the corpse of Indian freedom. It created a dependency over the execution of national liberty. It systematised the serfdom of three-hundred and fifty millions of Indian peoples and glorified it as an Empire. But it could not touch the soul of India nor could it bar the soul of Britain from linking itself with its comrade in the vales and villages of Hindustan.

The soul of Britain had spoken to India through the mouth of Burke and Bright in Westminster. The soul of liberty and justice—the off-springs of a fine chivalry—which is the parent of the spirit of honour, duty and sportsmanship of Britain—which had wrung from King John the Magna Charta and sent King Charles I to the scaffold and James II to exile for trampling on the rights and liberties of the people, which had rung in Parliament for the redemption of slavery—sang the song of freedom for India in the memorable 1917 Declaration of Secretary of State—Edwin Montague. Twenty-five years after 1912 when King George V spoke the word—*Swaraj*—to the peoples of India, in 1937 the voice of Westminster could have solidly linked to Britain the thinning cord of India's attachment through its Statute of Sovereignty (the Statute of Westminster which recognised the independence and sovereignty of the Dominions), but British statesmanship had grown bankrupt in these post-war years. The ruling class of England was no longer the country aristocrat but the plutocrat of the factory and brewery, and the British proletariat had not yet gone out of its habit of lifting its fingers to their locks in the presence of 'My Lord, the gentleman and the lady.' The historic moment of hushing a controversy and a conflict which may paralyse the Indian administration of Britain was missed. It may yet be opportune. Edward VIII may have done it, and George VI can yet complete the era of Indian liberties begun by his august

father. Indian freedom is a sacred troth because the soul of India must speak to the world its message of freedom and emancipation of the brown peoples of the earth; and no power can smother the conscious spirit and confident will of three hundred and fifty millions of God's humanity in Asia.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOUL OF INDIA

IT is the soul of India that is awake. It has been astir since Raja Ram Mohan Rai and Macaulay initiated the educational movement. It has imbibed the British colour and it utters the cry of the age—emancipation; and this is right, because, for a hundred years the soul of Britain has wafted itself all over India through its universities and its literature. The spirit of Eton and Harrow and the public schools, the spirit of Oxford and Cambridge, and of Edinburgh and Dublin has come to India in successive decades through the civilians who suffered exile for the service of their country, and who honourably and faithfully discharged their mission to the peoples over whom they were set as administrators. These fine Britishers brought to India their code of public conduct, their standards of fair play and good faith, administrative purity and judicial integrity, of personal rectitude and sanctity of law. And with them came also the spirit of London and Lancashire to inspire the era of world trade and Indian industrialisation. But, it was the spirit of Bacon and Shakespeare, Bentham and Adam Smith, Carlyle and Ruskin, James Mill and Cobden, Hampden and Wilberforce, Tennyson and Wordsworth, Shelly and Keats, Bannerman and Asquith, Ripon and Irwin which has permeated the universities, the colleges and schools of India, and reared up generations of enlightened Indian citizens whose aspirations for a Parliamentary system have been propelling the great Indian movement of liberation. The educated Indian fondly believes that the spirit of Wilberforce is the real mission of Westminster, and expects that the *Seers of Britain* will not fail the hope of the Indian peoples, expressed by their elder leaders, that Britain will do its duty and perform the miracle of history by helping to inaugurate Indian freedom.

Freedom

Who can deny freedom to India? The soul of freedom is universal. The spirit of attainment is but a human inspiration. This eternal spirit of liberation is expressed by the French Revolution, the War of American Independence, and the resurgence of Germany, of Italy, of the Balkans and of Turkey. It is this inspiration of humanity to aspire to the fullest liberty and achieve economic equity that has created the Russian Revolution and resurrected Russia from the feudal thralldom of five centuries. This sentiment of human liberation and economic emancipation appealed to the Indian masses who claim a culture which is unsurpassed in its universality of appeal and height of achievement. Hindu culture pointed to the bliss of immersion in the *infinite* spirit of creation. Muslim culture pointed to the union with the divine essence—the God Beloved. These two mighty streams of inspiration and aspiration—one from the gurgling streams of Gangotri in the snow-clad Himalayas, the other from Medina—the garden town of the sand-storm deserts of Arabia—have mingled for some seven centuries in India, to ripen afresh in this coming epoch—for a message of world harmony and democracy. Christianity chastened the plastic spirit of India. The Bramho Samaj—devotional in all its aspects, and the Arya Samaj—dynamic in every feature, joined forces in the reform movement which after fifty years is breaking the bondage of custom and caste. The spirit of freedom has been in action. It burst into the eruption of 1857—the Sepoy Mutiny—which failed, because it was not an insurrection of the peoples but a recrudescence of dynastic ambition, because dynastic ambition and local bigotry failed to produce even a confederacy of princes, because the only united interest was the British power and nationalism had not been born, because patriotism was local and authority was personal, and the vast masses living in the countryside in harmonious community life, concentrated and conserved in the villages, looked with undisguised contempt at these military adventures for political authority in which they—the villages—had neither share

nor voice. Unaided by the peoples and shattered by the will of the Britishers persisting in dominion and inspired by a singleness of purpose—the insurrection of 1857 left India with the Queen's Proclamation of beneficent rule; and the Act of 1861 introduced an era of law by Legislative Councils replacing the age of Regulations of the Executive. For a quarter of a century the country slumbered, but the murmurings of discontent were afloat to find expression in the gathering of the first Indian National Congress in Bombay, where the awakened mind of India spoke for the first time in terms of Victorian liberalism and British democracy. For fifty years the Indian National Congress observed strictly the language of Parliamentarism. Challenged by the British Imperialism in its latest feudal enactment for the governance of India's future—allying the ante-diluvian state-autocracies of the middle ages which the progressive democracies of provinces, in its 1935 Act, the Congress through its President—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—in 1936 first uttered the language of theoretical socialism.

These fifty-five years of Congress have been the years of rearing up a national consciousness, a national sentiment, a national out-look, a national opinion, and a national urge in India. This half a century has been the period of preparing the Indian mind to a new realisation of unity and solidarity, a new confidence in organisational effort, a new courage in action. The process of unification, which failed with the dynastic interests, succeeded under the impact of democratic thought, because it enunciated the doctrine of peoples' rights and representative government, because it appealed to popular imagination and because it declared peoples' welfare and commonweal as the base of public policy. Public leaders expressed common views on currency, tariffs, railways, and assailed the administrative autocracy, heedless of Indian opinion and indifferent to Indian interests. A single remedy appeared, the panacea for all vital reforms. It was *Self-Government*. The position of the Dominions—Canada, Australia, South Africa—appealed to the leaders of the last century as the practical solution of Indian problems. But it is not easy to part

with absolute power. The mockery of the Council Reforms of 1892 and 1907 exasperated the Indian intelligentsia. A large section revolted against the method of mendicancy of the old leaders who believed in protests and petitions and shrunk from any active resistance. Gokhale at Benares had declared refusal of revenues as the last refuge for political despair. Dadabhoy Naoroji at Calcutta momentarily bridged the dividing camps by acclaiming *Swaraj* as the legitimate birth right of India, asserted so bluntly and so virulently by Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpatrai—who were penalised into imprisonment and exile for their ardent patriotism. That word 'Swaraj' found a niche in King George V's Royal Announcement at his Coronation Darbar of 1911. It was a subtle imperialist move to lull political activism by appearing to recognise a national ideal through the mouth of royalty. The trick failed because the British rulers had not the slightest desire of implementing *Swaraj* by parliamentary action. In India feelings were running high. The bomb had already made its appearance and the nihilist was spreading his gospel of anarchy. The victory of pigmy Japan over giant Russia had broken the myth of Asiatic incompetency carefully nursed by European interests. Turkey was in revolt. Egypt was rebelling. China was imbibing a new political doctrine from Sun Yat Sen. Ancient Iran was simmering. Then came the World War of 1914-18 and Britain's need. No words were spared to inveigle India into active support. Rulers and leaders of opinion in India laid aside their country's grievances and expressed their belief in the ideals for which the Allies were resisting the aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary. It was a war to make the world safe for democracy and to assert self-determination of peoples. A million men and a hundred million sterling in cash and a hundred million sterling in gifts and materials were India's aid to Britain in her war-time trial. Indian divisions halted the German tide in Northern France when Kitchner was yet preparing his recruits for the French battle-fields.

The war went on. Provoked by the inhumanity of German submarinism, America sent her legions for the defence of the frontiers of civilisation against barbarism. But President Wilson sailed in vain to make a new world. Wisely the American peoples refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. It destroyed the illusion of idealism. It concluded the war as a war of acquisition. Conquests were called mandates. The economic terrain of Central Europe was strewn with tariff barriers. Vanquished Germany and victorious Italy—friends who had fought as foes, both torn and bleeding, found a growing unity of objective in the necessity of national consolidation and antagonism towards France and Britain. Germany through the humiliation of defeat and Italy through the frustration of victory discovered a new fulfilment in planning the hegemony of Central Europe and the Mediterranean and for a redistribution of Africa and dominance and exploitation in Asia.

And now the Rome-Berlin axis aided by Japan has become the wheel-base for an aggression which seeks to muzzle Britain at Gibraltar, Alexandria, Aden and Singapore, Hongkong and Shanghai, and decapitate France by encirclement by suborning Spain under the heel of Franco. Peace became a truce and idealism became ashes. India could not and did not escape this disillusionment.

CHAPTER V

THE CONGRESS STRUGGLE

Non-Violent Revolt

HARDLY had the last Indian battalions gone home when the British rulers gifted India with the atrocious 'Rowlatt Act,' designed to suppress Indian expression of discontent and to repress Indian activities for liberty. The spirit of India was in agony. It found its leader in MAHATMA GANDHI. He had discovered a new mode—*Satyagraha*—passive resistance for right against wrong. He had experimented *Satyagraha* in the Indian struggle for self-respect and civil rights in South Africa. He had asked the peasants of Kaira (Bombay) and the farm labourers of Champaran (Bihar) and the cotton mill operatives of Ahmedabad to 'refuse submission to injustice.' To him this pernicious "Rowlatt Act," which aimed to convert the whole of India into a house of correction for political agitation, seemed the last nail in India's self-respect. He initiated a campaign of agitation for repeal of this Black Law against Indian liberty. The peoples' excitement and anger had reached a climax. Gandhiji initiated passive resistance against the Rowlatt Act and the whole country flared up in a mass demonstration which unnerved the cynic powers at Simla. In Lahore, a British military commandant ordered a deliberate shooting of unarmed peoples assembled for peaceful demonstration in a small packed area. The tragedy of Jallianwalla Bagh repeated the terror of British militarism of the 1857 Mutiny days. Wisely, Gandhiji immediately recalled the campaign. Suddenly but sullenly the peoples retired to their broodings. The British bureaucracy stood aghast at the week's events.

Could it be true? Could one man provoke such a universal demonstration of discontent? Were the peoples really dissatisfied? Were all their efforts of eighty years

of subjugation of the mind and spirit of India in vain? What had happened and why? The Rowlatt Bill affected only a few hundreds of political agitators. It did not touch the millions of Indians who only wished to live in peace. How did they struggle up? It was an annoying puzzle. They attempted its solution by a belated declaration of political concession in the 1919 Act. Steeped in the tradition of Victorian liberalism, the British rulers were persuaded to extend the policy of "crumbs," through the mimicry of a central legislature without power and a provincial dyarchy without authority. The "crumbs" were rejected at the Lucknow Congress, once again at Mahatma Gandhi's insistence with Lokmanya Tilak's sufferance, in spite of the plea for responsive co-operation. Again Gandhiji conceived the expression of popular dissatisfaction. The momentous decision was taken at the Calcutta Special Congress and the Nagpur Congress of 1920. *Non-violent Non-co-operation* breathed in India under the inspiration of Gandhiji. Nearly a hundred thousand students left their seminaries to participate in the political struggle. Thousands sought jail. The movement of protest assumed the aspect of a popular revolt. Throughout the country, the passive resisters meekly suffered provocation and assaults, and the people obeyed Gandhiji's mandate of non-violence. Only at Chauri Chowra in the United Provinces, the mob burst out in indignation against police excesses and burnt one police station.

Ahimsa

But this single incident brought a shudder of self-censure in Mahatma Gandhi's heart. To him *non-violence* was a creed; its observance must be absolute and not relative. This single instance seemed to him evidence of a spirit which had been restrained by his command but not removed. Gandhiji immediately recalled the whole movement. By a resolute decision, he wound up the possibilities of similar excesses and quieted the frowns and wrath of his friends and colleagues. Political discontent immediately expressed itself through the Swaraj Party, which sought to influence

British opinion through the Central and Provincial legislatures created by the Mont-Ford Reforms, which were rejected by Gandhiji and resisted by 1921 non-violent non-co-operation. The Swaraj Party was the first organised parliamentary group which went to the polls on a party basis with party regulations and party discipline. Its leaders, the immaculate statesman, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the super-saint Desh Bandhu Chitranjan Das, the astute politician Vithalbhai Patel, fought for years a valiant battle with the bureaucratic brigade in Delhi. Under Pandit Motilal Nehru's leadership the Swarajists and Muslims collaborated in securing their united political demands of elected Indian representatives by a resolution adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly. It was followed up by Lord Birkenhead's challenge to Indian leaders to form their own constitution. The monumental "Nehru Report" and the memorable sessions of the All Party Convention expressed at once the unanimity of Indian demands for self-government and the divergences regarding the composition of the legislature and administration as stressed by the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The British Cabinet started the ill-fated Simon Commission to offset the Nehru Report. The Congress announced its boycott. The Liberals joined the Congress in this boycott. Black flags and shouts of "Go Back Simon" greeted the unwelcome missionaries of the British Parliament. After some three years' hopeless toil this Simon Commission produced a document which was fore-doomed to an unwept burial. In the interval the struggle for freedom had again begun. The Congress had decided to make a sporting offer, before giving battle to the British authority—when the Viceroy announced the project of a Round Table Conference—"Will the Viceroy make it clear on behalf of the British Government that the object of the Round Table Conference will be to frame a constitution for India based on Dominion Status?" Pandit Motilal Nehru, President Vithalbhai Patel and Mr. Jinnah led a deputation to the Viceroy. Lord Irwin, however, expressed inability to give any clear undertaking, saying that it

would be prejudging the course of deliberations of the Round Table Conference. The motive of the show became clear. The British Cabinet designed the Round Table Conference as a demonstration before world opinion of their broad-mindedness and the complexity of the problem owing to the divergences and conflicts that would appear at this conference. The Congress declined to go into the British net. An immediate declaration of hostilities was urged on the expiration of the twelve months' period fixed by the Calcutta Congress of 1928 to allow the British Government to make up its mind about Dominion Status. The Irwin declaration of 1929 only *pointed at* Dominion Status and stopped there. The Congress met at Lahore in December, 1929. War was in the air. Jawaharlal Nehru—then the Prince Charming of the youth of India—a keen patriot and an ardent nationalist—was the chosen President. Half a million men and women had gathered to inaugurate the creed of Independence for India. On a chill wintry night, on the banks of the River Ravi—a vast audience awaits the zero hour in hushed silence. The chimes of the clock are heard. It is midnight. As the twelfth stroke has rung, the President announces the dawn of the new era. Mahatma Gandhi himself enunciates the historic change in the creed of the Congress for the Indian peoples. Midst tense calm the votes are counted. Thunderous applause greets the Presidential pronouncement of the creed of Independence as the accepted goal of the Congress for India. The huge concourse of people outside, shivering in cold, hears the applause, and they let themselves off in frenzied acclamations of joy.

The Magic of the Mahatma

Yes. Centuries had rolled by since India had lost its freedom. After centuries of conquest and assimilation, after a century and a half of the foreign supremacy of Britain, the soul of India had been recalled to its birth-right, and the peoples of India had gathered under one banner, for one cause, under one leadership, and one command. The banner was the tri-colour flag of freedom

—the saffron of the Hindus, the green of the Muslims, the white of peace and non-violence. The cause was emancipation from the domination and thralldom of foreign rule. The leadership was the leadership of the Congress and the command was the inimitable and incomparable generalship of Mahatma Gandhi—Churchill's 'Naked Fakir,'—India's beloved of the head and the heart—the meek and the humble votary of truth and non-violence, whose courage had taught a trembling people to shred their fear and whose faith had generated a new national consciousness and assertiveness, whose simplicity and sincerity had evoked veneration and whose suffering for one's belief and pledges had inspired in the Indian peoples a yearning to sacrifice and suffer for political convictions. Mahatma Gandhi's will had dominated dissentients, infused an unimaginable energy among hundreds of thousands of Indians and injected a desire of service, of duty, of collaboration and of discipline for a cause and an objective. Gandhiji's work in forging an objective national unity of aim and policy for freedom and social and economic reconstruction based on the single consideration of the masses' well-being had thrust India in a new aspect before the world. It was his command that the Congress ordained for the Indian peoples to follow in the projected struggle for liberty. Gandhiji's word was law and the Congress writ ran in the whole country.

Thus came the dawn of the first January of the year 1930 of Lord Jesus Christ. Mahatma Gandhi—the Indian Hermit—the seeker after truth and love and divine light—the man who had strived utmost to realise Christ within himself and in his deeds, took up the role of the deliverer from the anti-Christ—British Imperialism—which had emasculated one-fifth of mankind in its hundred years of politico-economic supremacy, and had converted India into a vast military and economic reservoir for the domination of the East. The rumblings of the gathering storm were heard in White Hall—the wires hummed beneath the ocean. A last attempt to shut the pistons was made. Unfailing in courtesy and unfaltering in his purpose, Gandhiji despatched his 'Twelve Points' Memorandum to

the Viceroy. Mr. Reynolds—the emissary of peace—returned with a message of polite refusal and a delicate warning against the consequences of the impending struggle. At Sabarmati near Ahmedabad, the Working Committee of the Congress met in February, 1930 and entrusted dictatorial powers with supreme authority to Mahatma Gandhi. Carefully a complete plan of resistance to authority was considered. Openly Gandhiji announced “Civil Disobedience” to begin with a breach of the Salt Laws. The British bureaucracy in India, puzzled and understanding, shrugged its shoulders and looked up its confidential files. In vain they sought for precedents. The files were unavailing. They awaited the ‘show.’ Throughout India, the towns and country-side began to boil with aspiration and apprehension. Five week’s tempestuous agitation rung open the curtain for this un-heard-of war of liberation of a subject people—disarmed and disintegrated during seventy years of British peace and tranquillity—a war, which was a war without weapons of the battlefield, whose creed was to suffer without inflicting suffering. Its gospel was to attain the victory of hearts. Its strategy was a universal refusal of recognition of authority of a State which declined the right of its peoples to self-determination and self-government, self-expression and self-effort, for reconstructing its political integration and economic life out of the debris of a thousand years, which a century of British Rule had done little to clean or clear. It was a war of martyrs led by an Apostle. And so commenced the Indian Peoples’ Struggle against the shackles of Britain’s might with the epic *Dandi March*.

The 1930 Masses Upsurge

On the 12th March, 1930, Gandhiji started from his hut with 71 sworn disciples. The world had been kept in tense expectation since weeks. A hundred thousand people slept on the road side and in the fields, and kept watch to pay their homage and farewell in the early dawn to the country’s first soldiers of Civil Disobedience marching under the most unique commander in world’s history. Slowly

on foot they wended their way. Aslali in Daskroi—Ahmedabad, the most active village in all Gujarat, had the distinction of entertaining Gandhiji and the civil marchers of Satyagraha on their first halt. The march became a pilgrimage. The entire route became a recruiting radiator; and as it progressed onward, a sub-continent was converted into a campaigning ground, and the whole world into a forum. The poor peasantry and workers took the dust of the holy pathway trusting in quick deliverance. The rich and the positioned declined to lag behind. The millionaires chartered a special train and waited on Gandhiji at Surat with a munificent gift as their tribute to the cause. It was at once a demonstration of the alliance of the commercial classes as much as evidence of the shrewd common sense of commerce to keep within the ring to secure their nests and pluck the fruits when ripe.

The tactics of the bourgeoisie all the world over appeared in all their crudity in this Indian struggle. To them the struggle was being fought for the interests of trade, industry, commerce and exchange, against British preserves and foreign encroachments. For every single richer-class person who sought Jail with popular acclamations, a hundred lower and poor middle class volunteers suffered lathies, tortures, physical injuries and personal outrage. Throughout the land the vast masses in the villages remained in expectant excitement and hesitant support. To the peasantry, Gandhiji was a symbol of self-sacrifice for the redemption of the impoverished millions, and the British authority was the spectre which had kept them in perpetual fright, only collecting the taxes and imposing the penalties with an army of subordinates of every grade whose greed and rapacity were a scourge. To them the struggle meant relief from taxes, land-rent, water-rates and administrative coercion and corruptions. The peasants looked upon the poor middle-class people who offered a hundred thousand to British prisons as martyrs for their relief. The rich considered the struggle as a sacrificial fire, where all but they were burning, out of which a gold stream was to sprout for their coffers. Mahatmaji had no

illusions. He had measured the minds and depths of men and motives. He understood too well the credulous beliefs of the millions and the utter selfishness of the mighty rich. He understood the cross-currents of the world-struggle, and the rumblings of the developing proletariat earth-quake. He knew exactly the point upto which the upper class would go in sacrifice, and he knew perfectly the level of the village folk, sunken in economic despair and moral debris, among whom he had injected the stirrings of a hope for betterment.

The Meeting of Two 'Royalties'

Gandhiji then understood perfectly, when he was sought by the Viceroy for a cessation of the strife in 1931, that the moment could not be missed. The terrific struggle had lasted nearly one year. British bureaucracy had ruled with *Ordinances* which supervened common law but failed to stem the flow of resistance which continued intact with a varying degree of intensity. British trade had suffered. British authority had been openly challenged and flouted. British arms had been futile as no army was needed because there never was any armed resistance. "Non-Violent Civil Resistance" had succeeded in unnerving the entire British Administration. Prudent men counselled peace. A Christian minded Viceroy felt the need for the healing of the wounds. It was arranged that the two 'royalties' should meet—the royalty of renunciation and the royalty of accumulated but restrained might—Gandhiji to represent the spirit of India and Lord Irwin to represent the accommodating genius of British Imperialism. Cables were alive between the Viceroy's House in Delhi and India Office in London. Gandhiji kept constant consultation with his colleagues of the Congress. Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru led the debate but they were not alone. The *rich* were here even, ever present, ever pressing for a termination of the struggle. The rich were tired of the strain. Millionaires from capital cities donning snowy white caps hovered near Gandhiji with persuasive insistence on peace. Who

can say they were not sagacious? The fateful day came. The apostle of non-violence was meeting the might of the British Empire. Gandhiji with a staff walked all the way. Hushed crowds thronged the balconies and the five mile long pathway. The Imperial Secretariats in Delhi were deserted. The King's officers and staff had poured out on the lawns. Slowly with a beatific smile and folded hands, the accredited representative of Indian peoples mounted up the flight of stairs. "Hallo Gandhi, how are you" cordially exclaims the King's Viceroy, and leading Gandhiji in takes off his shawl. It was the gesture of royalty, of a thousand year old heritage of British chivalry to a five thousand years' essence of Indian culture—distilled into a fragile human being—whose will had been a dynamo which shook a continent and an Empire to a new realisation. The supreme gesture went home. Lord Irwin and Gandhiji talked for hours as friends. At last peace was announced. The treaty was signed by the Viceroy for the British Power and Gandhiji for the Congress and India's national power; and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact symbolised the wish of aspiring India and understanding Britain to fulfil a common destiny as equals.

Satyagraha

"Was it to be so"—came the question in all mouths. Words and phrases may be construed to convey contrary purposes. In spite of a deep dissatisfaction, Gandhiji agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference where British politicians sought to circumvent freedom with safeguards and cripple India's aspirations with reservations. Cleverly the communal question was fanned and a Hindu-Muslim agreement was buttressed. Gandhiji returned in disgust to find the bureaucracy in arms against the Congress. The Kisan Sabhas, fostered by Pandit Nehru in the United Provinces, were the target of the British Administration, slyly supported by the rich landlord class. The Congress Working Committee met to discuss the impending crisis. Pandit Nehru declined to obey a Magistrate's order restraining his movement, and started to leave

for Bombay to meet Gandhiji in the Working Committee. He was arrested. Gandhiji's appeals to the Viceroy proved unavailing. Lord Willingdon, who in Bombay had sought to muzzle Mr. Jinnah and in Madras had imprisoned Mrs. Beasant, the superb fighter, who lighted the torch of "Home Rule" for India between 1915-20 and taught the value of organised demonstrations and propaganda, declined to respond to Gandhiji's gesture of peace. The Congress called upon the peoples to resist this aggression of Imperialism seeking to re-impose the fear of the foreign ruler. The British Indian Government replied with the Delhi Ordinance of 1932, which in its scope and comprehensiveness for the repression of liberty and penalisation of expression or organisation of the public wish and voice was a superb edition of the edicts of the Czars. The bureaucracy acted with speed and rounded up every person noted for his Congress participation, as listed in the registers they had been carefully preparing while Congressmen were beaming with the delusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Civil resistance flared up all over India among the peoples, but another sub-terranean influence was restraining its range.

The Bourgeoisie Backs Out

The richer classes quietly withheld their purses. They thought that they had suffered in vain. The 1930 struggle did not prove to be the business bargain they anticipated. They slyly suggested the futility of sacrifices and need for a halt, a respite, and subtly portruded the danger of communism, the fear of the disappearance of the leadership of the upper middle classes in the Congress, and the risks of a mass conflagration. They knew that none but Gandhiji can recall the mandate of the fight, yet the fight can be fissured and fizzled. The very millionaires who exploited the Congress campaign of boycott, conveniently forgot their agreements with the Congress. The financiers, indifferent to patriotism, ran to profit by the debacle of the sterling, and the shooting up of the gold price, cleverly designed to drain away the gold reserves of the Indian

people, for sustaining British credit and strengthening British trade and exports. Indian gold in 1932 possibly prevented a small revolution in England, and it was British control of Indian currency, exchange and fiscal policy which enabled Britain to preserve herself from an economic crash. This economic paramountcy of Britain over India crystallised itself in the Reserve Bank, the Ottawa Pact and the Viceroy's special Financial Powers—ostensibly to secure India's financial stability and credit, but inwardly designed to tow the Indian Economic System, with the Bank of England and the City of London. The Indian businessmen shrieked hoarse against the exchange and trotted out the plea of agricultural depreciation, when all the while they were glutting their bank accounts with profiteering in gold, silver and exchange. Failing in attaining exclusive exploitation, the richer classes conceived of partnership in the rulership of British finance, for patriotism and profiteering are an identical creed with the moneyed men all over the world. They were awaiting an opportunity to convert the Congress to a line of indirect co-ordination with their interests. The British Premier—Ramsay Macdonald—gave them a God-send with the "Indian Communal Ordinance" called the "Communal Award," for none had asked him to arbitrate. It was a rending of the Hindu community in twain. It was a breach in the Hindu polity in spite of its out-worn compartments of castes. The richer classes timed their stroke under the camouflage of Gandhiji's fast unto death in the Yeravada Jail, which secured the Harijan Pact and Gandhiji's departure from the prison. The policy of boycott of legislatures was reconsidered. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. Ansari—two eminent professionals, for whom luck had dug a gold mine in law and medicine—advised a cessation of the struggle and acceptance of Lord Willingdon's challenge in notifying elections to the Central Indian Legislatures. Mahatmaji sensed the spirit of despondency and the spirit of gloom among the people, restricted the movement to individual resistance and permitted the Parliamentary Board. The Congress was reluctantly led back from the wilderness

of revolt into the arena of constitutionalism which the rich and the mighty had monopolised and manouvered. With the 1935 Act, the British Parliament sealed, signed and delivered the death warrant of Indian independence, and sent Lord Linlithgow to embellish the scaffold of Indian freedom with the leaders of the struggle of liberty as participants in its execution.

CHAPTER VI

THE MASSES WAKE AND WONDER

Tattered Hopes

WAS this impossible miracle a reality? What has happened to the Congress? Have its leaders forgotten its goal? Has it changed its policy? Pandit Nehru could not reconcile himself into a surrender of the struggle after its cessation. The peoples of the countryside were asking "what has all the suffering brought to the country?" The poor middle classes wondered and questioned if their sacrifices had been made only to tighten the bonds of British Imperialism and complete the noose of Indian Capitalism as a quarrelsome junior of British Finance Power. Dissatisfaction was simmering in the towns and industrial areas. The richer classes, apprehensive of the reaction, operated a tactical counterpoise by an inner thrust—recasting the Congress constitution to base its organisational structure on the countryside, giving the rural areas a three-fourths or seventy-five per cent. representation in all Congress Committees and delegations, in the fond belief that the peasant people's faith in the super leader—Mahatma Gandhi—may enable their regimentation as a phalanx against the radicalism expressed by socialist and resurgent labour workers of the towns and cities. The reaction was characteristic. The Congress Socialist Party and the All India Kisan Congress sprang into existence while the Communist Party came into open prominence with a change of tactics. The radical intelligentsia and the apathetic peasant appeared to make a common cause. At Meerut, the socialists formed an academic programme. At Lucknow, the peasant workers drew up the demands for the peasantry. Pandit Nehru, who keeps the fires burning, had insisted at Karachi, in 1931, on a clear statement of Congress aims expressed through the

Fundamental Rights, and again he pressed on the Congress at Lucknow an agrarian programme elaborated later at its Faizpur Sessions. At Haripura, the right of the Kisans (peasants) to their independent organisations was definitely acknowledged by the Congress. In this crisis, Mahatma Gandhi appeased the widening gulf between the moderates and the extremists, of the early Congress days, now called Rightists and Leftists. Tactfully, he piloted the country among the conflicting pretensions of a greedy bourgeoisie and a disgruntled working class and a complaining peasantry, with an almost rebellious youth and unbelieving intelligentsia. The Congress helm was entrusted to Pandit Nehru and Babu Subhash Chandra Bose, while the parliamentary strategy was left to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. These great minds of the Congress understood well enough the impact of ideas and events from beyond India's borders; but they could not miss the factual limitations of circumstances, conditions and their connections. The Congress Election Manifesto, on which the Congress fought and won the first peoples election of 1937 was a brilliant anti-thesis of the class conflict theory and a sonorous plea for deliverance of the down-trodden masses. The richer classes had designed that the energy of the Congress should be harnessed to the development of industrialism and commerce and economic policies suited to Indian capitalists. The upper middle classes joined heartily in the plea for peace for solution of the problem of rural reconstruction, and a policy which may create employment for the lower middle class, while the rural people expected a quick implementing of the agrarian programme of relief.

The Kisan—(peasant)—Finds Its Leader

The sweeping Congress majorities in the Provincial Legislatures of India could not escape the harness of executive responsibilities. The Indian National Congress must justify itself to the vast masses. The Congress must reinforce among the people a confidence in its ability to fulfil the policies for which it struggled in war or peace.

The hurdle of the Governor's Powers was skilfully got over by the Viceroy's enunciation of the convention of parliamentarism that the will of the parliamentary majority shall prevail with the Governors as a constitutional mandate. For the first time, in India, the people's elected Ministers sat in the places of power, in 1937, and the Congress inaugurated its rule in eight provinces over an area more than one-third of Europe. With a clear appreciation of its relative position *vis-a-vis* the masses and the richer classes, it struck at the indolent and indulgent land-lord class—who had forsaken its peasantry and tenantry since three-quarters of a century and who had lived in chosen exile, divorced from life in the countryside to bask in the sunshine of British bureaucrats at the capitals and district towns. Lazily the landlord class realised that the attack was serious, and ran helter-skelter for protection. Their friends among the white bureaucrats of the administration and brown bureaucrats of the Congress advised accommodation to the spirit of the age. They wandered among their tenants recalling the forgotten relations of ancient pater-familias, and found an assertive peasantry alive to the hour, and keenly conscious of their century-old wrongs. They found friends only in hired desperadoes to fight the peasant whose toil had fed their former generations. Their only recourse was to threaten civil strife. The Congress Ministers eager to avert a civil crisis, were agreeable to compromises. The peasantry, who had grumbled at the inadequacies of the Congress agrarian measures, were disillusioned by the compromises and reacted by organisational protest and resistance under the banner of the Kisan Congress led by Swami Sahjanand Saraswati—a typical product of Indian hermitism—who “wandering about in search of God, found *Him* in the Kisan—the peasant.” Aided by the indefatigable Prof. Ranga in the South and the veteran Sjt. Indulal Yajnik in the west and Mian Iftikharuddin and Pandit Rahulji in the north and the east, the Kisan movement began thrusting a wedge in the Congress policy

of alignment with vested interests by compromise; and the political atmosphere was overcast by apprehensions of class strife and eager extremism.

Impatient at the halt in the struggle for freedom, dissatisfied with the pace and content of the Congress Ministers' reforms and reliefs, expecting unrestrained latitude from the popular ministries, the extreme section commenced an advanced movement through labour and peasant discontent, and met with a quiet, dignified resistance from Congress administrations, which naturally angered the irrespressibles and secretly annoyed even some calm parliamentarians. While all over the country, socialist and kisan workers had to suffer restrictions and prosecutions, the Congress leaders set about straining every nerve to retain its popularity with the masses. The All India Congress Committee by its Delhi resolution of 1938, as a reply to the accusation of a breach of its guarantee of civil rights by the Congress Ministers, demarcated the region of civil freedom. The Congress President Sjt. Bose established the National Planning Commission and sportingly asked his rival Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to act as its Chairman. The Working Committee pleaded for the revision of the exchange ratio in tune with the Indian Capitalists, to get a rejoinder from the Delhi authorities, that Ratio revision will only profiteer the capitalists who have exported their capital abroad without any balancing gain in agricultural prices governed by world production. The Congress Labour Policy through Premier Kher's Labour Enactment in Bombay Province, sought to eliminate class war-fare and secure industrial peace and prevent the exploitation of labour discontent for political and economic creeds. Labour has condemned it as a pro-capitalist measure denying its inherent right of strike and obstructing its claim of enforcing industrial socialism through its own sanctions. The Congress' and non-Congress political parties' agrarian policy of revenue-reliefs, rent-reduction, debt-settlement, tenancy-rights, and improved agriculture, is a fair measure of this concern for peasants' welfare. But the landlords are aggressive and unrelenting, and the peasant

agitation increases in volume and extent, and will inevitably provoke administrative troubles and constitutional crises. But this is not all. There are eighty million people grovelling in destitution and drudgery in the six hundred States under British protection—some as big as Belgium and some as tiny as a score of square miles.

The Peasant Revolt in Indian States

This problem of the suffering of peoples in States pressed the Congress into the tactical signal of the Haripura Resolution on States. Months before the decision on policy, the struggle of the peasantry of the small Mansa State in Gujerat near Ahmedabad had commenced, and in a six months' campaign—during which the peasants established their Panchayat—(elected assembly) the first constituent assembly elected on universal adult franchise in all India—had paralysed the entire machinery of the State. This peasants struggle terminated in a Treaty of twenty-nine articles—granting reliefs and rights to peasantry, and recognising the Committee of Nine (the executive of their own self-constituted and publicly elected Khedut Panchayat—Peasants' Assembly) as the Advisory Board to the State, and it was signed by the Ruler and his Minister for the State, and the members of the Committee appointed by the *Mansa* peasants at their conference. This agreement was arranged in the presence of Sardar Patel whose good offices and persuasion and prestige, supported by the peasants' pertinacity in disciplined resistance, unity and sacrifice, materially helped in negotiations and marked an epoch in the struggle for rights and emancipation of the peoples in Indian States, as the Bardoli—peasant revolt had done for the peasantry in British India.

The Mansa (state) victorious peasant struggle lighted the fuse in States. In the States of Travancore, Dhenkanal, and Rajkot and Ramdurg, the peoples suffered terribly in their struggle for self-expression and self-government. This struggle of States-peoples provoked reactions in the Congress, the British Government, and the Muslim League

which put forth special separatist claims. The Congress High Command reinterpreted its policy for and to the suffering peoples of the Indian States for civil rights and self-government at Wardha and later through the Congress at Tripura in March, 1939. In the British Parliament, deputies of the Secretary of State for India defined British Policy as Paramount Power in relation to Rulers of States and constitutional advance for their peoples, as "liberty for internal reforms." In Rajkot State the Ruler agreed to Sardar Patel's intervention and announced a Committee to recommend measures of popular reform consistent with his "obligations to the Crown as the Paramount Power and his prerogatives as a Ruler"—a formula agreeable to the British conception of its paramountcy. In Travancore, the State Congress at Gandhiji's request withdrew its allegations against the Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and suspended its struggle. In the big Hyderabad State too, the State Congress accepted Gandhiji's and Pandit Nehru's advice and withdrew their struggle, though the Arya Samaj successfully conducted an active resistance campaign with strict non-violence, and secured an honourable settlement from the sagacious Sir Akbar Hydari—the Premier of Hyderabad. But the Rulers of States harboured different ideas of dealing with the situation. In Rajkot the agreement with Sardar Patel came to naught necessitating a fast by Mahatma Gandhi resulting in an award by the Chief Justice of India—an incident which created a precedent and an acknowledgment of the functioning of the rejected Federation through the Federal High Court and British Paramountcy. Even then the superb diplomacy of Minister Virawalla made the award inoperative and Mahatma Gandhi issued his two successive statements giving up the positional benefits under the Gwyer Award and appealing for an internal settlement. In the meanwhile the Tripura Congress had advanced the Congress policy as regards the States peoples and while the Viceroy appealed in the Princes Chamber for liberalisation and improvements of administration, Gandhiji laid

an interdict on the resistance movements of the peoples in States. The Ruling Princes and their Ministers reacted immediately with repression with the result that the All India Congress Committee at its Bombay Sessions on June 26, 1939, decided to leave complete freedom to Congressmen for the active struggle of peoples' rights and grievances in States, while restricting that freedom in provincial administrations. The States' reaction is now complete in relation to peoples' struggles and active resistance to State authorities and measures, despite a general reformist policy of liberalising the legislatures and administrations in States as in Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Jodhpur, Gwalior, Indore and Cochin.

But these reforms do not meet with present day popular aspirations, and their responsiveness and real utility are now on trial in several States. Here in some 500 small States—principalities—eighty millions of impoverished, tax-laden, exploited Indian masses lie shrieking, under the whip-cord of arbitrary State authorities under autocratic rulers, beckoning to revolution for redemption, oblivious to the possible virtues of the institution of PRINCES with hereditary interest in their peoples for generations, and unmindful of the beneficence of such splendid examples of rulers like Gondal, Jamnagar, Morvi and Bhavnagar who lavished many lakhs on famine relief, and inappreciative of the practical patriotism or keen personal interest in people's weal, or sense of duty for people's happiness, exemplified by the illustrious rulers of Baroda, Gwalior, Mysore, Indore and Travancore, all of whom are a vanguard of educational, civil and economic progress. While the people in States suffer in agony, the peasants in British Provinces under the leadership of Kisan leaders organised widespread resistance to the feudal levies of the landlord magnates, exposing the harassed Congress Ministries to a double barrage between the duty of preserving peace with the expediency of compromise and the forsaking of the peasants' cause which has been asserted to be the main plank of the Congress. In the midst of this grave crisis, the States Peoples Conference with Pandit Nehru as President drew up its own

demands for States people's rights and the Kisan (peasant) Congress met at Gaya in March, 1939 and forged out an advanced programme of demands and resistance.

Congress Parliamentarism

While political conditions in India have been thus in a caldron Europe stood on the precipice of a world war, and the British Government, while precipitately preparing for its preservation, is attempting to ward off the inevitable crash which must come through German-Italian aggressive ambitions aided by Japan in the Far East. Hesitating to accept the Soviet alliance and apprehending the possibilities of discontent in India and the necessity of India as a military and economic base in imperial defence, the British power in India may attempt to cajole the Congress into support and enlist sectional support. The Congress Executive, conscious of the masses' up-surge, uncertain of its power to check the stream, once it is on flow, apprehensive of its consequences, has been eagerly asserting its restraining authority with the acquiescence of the richer and upper middle classes and the authority of Congress Ministries and the prestige they may claim through popular measures for people's welfare.

This prestige of the Congress had been gathering. The wisdom of the policy of the Congress, under the sagacious guidance of MAHATMA GANDHI to utilise the limited powers under the autonomy—provisions of the 1935 Act, secured the ascendancy of the Congress. Lord Linlithgow*

* The Viceroy has been courting the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Princes after this War with the 1939 October Declaration, the Orient Club speech about applying the Statute of Westminster to India, the recent statement on self-government and self determination and Colonel Amery's authoritative speech in the Commons in August.

The reaction to the Government pronouncement has been a rending of India's political life in a manner reminding the historical student of the conflicting hunt for power and domination after the decay of the Mogul Empire and the disintegration of the Great Shivaji's heritage by his successors, who suffered the quiet assumption of Suzerainty by a foreign authority rather than combine or confederate into a national authority with some symbol of central sovereignty. The present situation has a great parallel in that inglorious past.

The Hindu Mahasabha expresses itself in terms of Hindu consolidation. The Muslim League asserts itself in terms of revival of Muslim dominion. The vested interests and the moderate people talk the language of effete Victorianism or Liberalism, some even indulging in pale Fabianism. The Congress utters the language of Democracy; and its leaders, after a halting policy in a curious zigzag course, ranging from a demand for declaration of India's Independence and Indian peoples' right to frame the constitution to representative administration being associated by the Viceroy in his Executive, from non-violence to defensive violence and again to non-violence, from non-embarrassment to Britain to individual civil disobedience to assert the right of free speech to express India's disapproval of violence and

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wooded the Congress in his 1938 Christmas speech to the European Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta for working the Indian Federation on the British plan which the Congress has persistently rejected and against which Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose threatened a volcanic campaign of resistance.

The diverging forces are working out their historical role. The Princes—the Congress Elders—The Muslim League—the Hindu Sabha and the Financial Interests are manœuvring into a position, where, on certain conditions of “security” for the various “interests” and “principles” they represent, they may collaborate in parliamentary action to explore the constitutional plan for an expansion of people’s authority and expression of people’s will in the Central Government of India. The Congress continuously emphasises its objective of a constitution enacted by a Constituent Assembly for India, a highly disputable and conveniently interpretable and explainable proposition, of doubtful value in the presence of the British army and civil service, and of no consequence whatever to the peasant masses in their present uninstructed and unorganised condition, to whom, even if it materialises in any form, the results will be tragic, as it can only help to establish a polity which will consolidate the vested interests of the commercial and intellectual classes with the pretensions of popular measures for peoples’ welfare. And thus the Congress authorities seek to co-ordinate the holding classes for a new regime of *democratic capitalist polity*—a political structure in which the vested interests materially influence the authorities and policies of democratic constitutions. But in all such systems the vast working-class millions and wage-earning intelligentsia will be struggling to be enlightened into facts and right action to escape from

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war to the world, though under the rigid directions and rightly under the absolute control of Mahatma Gandhi, are still feeling for a way to recapture the mass-mind and the bourgeoisie-purse both of which seem to have slipped away. The ‘masses’ staring in surprise and disbelief at all these meanderings of leaders’ and organisations’ politicalism are becoming sceptic, and are anxious to find new havens for realising their own future course of belief and action. And so there prevails an anarchy of sentiment and thought, a lack of integration and cohesion—so essential to any true nationalism and patriotism—which the village alone can rear and consolidate into a real people’s state in India, and which the village will learn through GRAMISM to accomplish fully and finally.

the new subjection, so as to achieve a complete emancipation from all domination and exploitation and a real people's polity and economic democracy, where they—the masses alone—will constitute and predominate the political structure for national and social policies.

CHAPTER VII

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MISSION

In this coming struggle of the epoch stands the pyrrhic figure of Mahatma Gandhi—dwarfing the tallest among Indians and dominating the mind of the millions—symbolical of the ancient wisdom of Krishna and Buddha—truth and non-violence, beauty and love—typical of the supreme spirit of the hermitage which evolved the light of the Vedas and Upanishads—reminiscent of the glory and power of the Rishis who gave the Indian peoples laws morals and a social system which have survived the shocks of fifty centuries. Gandhiji had imbibed the spirit of dedication for a principle. He had steeled his spirit into meek suffering for a cause. He found in India a people steeped in disbelief and despair and gave them a principle of action. He discovered utter lack of earnest endeavour and taught ceaseless vigil of the conscience. The peoples were deaf and he instructed them to listen to the music of war. The peoples were dumb and he gave them a tongue. The leaders were talking to distant multitudes. He brought the masses to hear the voice of liberty. The Congress was an institution. Gandhiji converted it into an organisation. He roused the millions from their apathy and enthused hosts of men and women to respond to the call of the country. He urged the doctrine of sacrifice and forged the sanctions of disciplined resistance and action. The hermit in the loin-cloth had worked a miracle. A people torn with dissensions and sodden in disintegration learnt the worth of unified and controlled activities. Gandhiji created new values in life and gave a new meaning and form to the art of politics.

With a vast compassion for the exploited poor, suffering from the injustice and tyranny of ages, and a faith in the might of truth and passive suffering, he has evolved a technique of revolution which affected the minds and

hearts of peoples causing strange earth-quakes. Without the shedding of a drop of blood, he has materially revolutionised the outlook and activities of many millions. In twenty years, the country has leapt from the feudal anarchy of the middle ages into the furnace of modernity with its foreign theories and European experiments in social reconstruction. Gandhiji—the Apostle of Right and Justice—cannot bear the torture of China under the heel of Japan, and the agony of Spain in its Civil War, nursed by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and quiescent Britain and France. He deeply feels the suffering of the Jews. He has laboured for better conditions of the factory-workers and striven for the improvement of rural life. For twenty years Mahatma Gandhi has struggled for the creation of a cleaner, fresher, truer India supported by a galaxy of great workers in the cause of emancipation. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das of Bengal who earned a fortune to give it away in political beneficence and lived a Fakir (an ascetic) gave his life to the non-co-operation movement. Pandit Motilal Nehru whose hospitality enlivened princes and pro-consuls, cheerfully abandoned a ducal income and sought a British prison. Babu Rajendraprasad of Bihar and Shri Rajagopalachariar of Madras chose the Gandhian way. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—the daring commander whose merit is firmness and discipline and whose virtue is a generous trust of capable colleagues and loyal lieutenants with forbearance for their failings and forgiveness for their errors and who ably kindled the first peasant revolt in Bardoli, worked out Gandhiji's conquests with the zeal of a chosen disciple. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the fiery torch-bearer of the socialist creed and the new international spirit, and the two Bose Brothers—Subhash Bose and Sarat Bose—who repeatedly preferred jail and exile for the country's freedom and whose recent revolt against the mysticism of Gandhiji and the authoritarianism of Gandhiji's lieutenants in the Congress Executive may make history—all these were linked by Gandhiji to his peculiar revolutionarism of Satyagraha. But then Subhash Chandra Bose twice President of the Indian National Congress declares for an immediate bout

with the British power, hoping to profit by the international complications, while Gandhiji and the Congress hesitate to precipitate the crisis, which must come, unless the Congress has the courage to recast its past policy of claiming supreme authority which is denied and will be disputed by the Muslim League and naturally the Princes and unless the Congress Leaders' compromises succeeds in securing British support for its claims which in its turn can only result in *hybrid* freedom with a feudo-capitalistic oligarchy in the garb of democracy with the natural sequence of the revolution of the Indian masses.

The Indian Masses Watch Soviet Russia

Gandhiji and his comrades of the Congress had made the rural masses the focus of their care and the middle classes their bastion of support. With unerring appreciation of possible eventualities, Gandhiji has evolved the doctrine of "trusteeship" of the rich and the powerful for the benefit of the masses. It applied equitably to the princes who ruled territories or governed finance. It ordained upon them a duty of willing sacrifice, and forewarned them of the consequences of failure to appreciate the philosophy of partnership in human welfare. Mahatmaji sought to drum into the deaf ears of the rich the inevitability of a new order, in which they must choose between either decapitation or partial preservation. The rich have smiled, the upper classes winked, the poor peoples hoped and the toiling peasant, wishing to believe, persisted in his wise scepticism bred in centuries of experience of exploitation.

This Gandhian doctrine of Trusteeship is the only refuge of the capitalist and the landlord. It is the last dam against the flood of extermination. Gandhiji holds aloft the banner of conciliation and hopes that the satiated leopards will let the hungry wolves bite off their surfeit. To him it is not a policy. It is a creed. But to the vast peoples it seems a phantasy. The communists seeking to dispel Gandhiji's illusion have received a classic reply from Mahatma Gandhi. An extract from Gandhiji's Weekly

—*The Harijan*—illustrates the greatness of Gandhiji's mind. *The Harijan* of 10th December, 1938 (Vol. VI. No. 44) reads :—

“Violence is no monopoly of any one party. I know Congressmen who are neither socialists nor communists but who are frankly devotees of the cult of violence. Contrary-wise I know socialists and communists who will not hurt a fly but who believe in the universal ownership of instruments of production. I think myself as one among them.”

Is Gandhi then a communist? Is Gandhi a socialist?—Gandhiji is essentially the peoples' friend and his teaching doctrinates non-violence as the true principle of action and self-reliance, self-discipline and self-sufficiency as the basic weapons of achievements. That has been his message to the country and the village masses. But with this awakening, there has come to India's masses the red beacon of the Russian Revolution and the message of Marx with the miracle of Lenin's magnificent deliverance and decisive direction of Trotsky's and Stalin's political, military, economic, social and cultural reconstruction of Russia. The Indian masses closely observe the plight of debating democracies and dominant dictatorships. To them it is a strange puzzle to understand who is happier—Soviet Russia, Kemalist Turkey or Democratic Britain or Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy.

Accustomed to aggression, domination and exploitation, it is difficult for the Indian masses—illiterate and ignorant, uninformed and untrained in politics or administration, to discriminate between Imperialism, Nazism or Fascism or Shintoism. The Indian intelligentsia habituated to individualistic advancement only and undisciplined for collective effort and unprepared for real sacrifice are apprehensive of their position but frankly unmindful of common well-being, but neither the masses nor the intelligentsia nor the upper classes can help admiring the wonderful remaking of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy or Shintoist Japan or Soviet Russia, even though they may heartily dislike the Nazi-Fascist's ruthlessness and conquest. Averse to cruelty and unaccustomed to state direction or

national discipline, the average Indian has mixed feelings about German Nazism and Italian Fascism, of appreciation of their internal reconstruction and dislike for their methods and their dealings with other countries and peoples. The Indian peoples have experience of the courteous ways of the established democracies of Britain, France and the United States which have been their inspiring guide in their national struggle. It is possible, some few among the princes and capitalists may perhaps cherish Hitlerism and Nazism as suitable to their inherited taste for aggressive imposition of authority with terrorism for people's exploitation. Several may prefer the Fascist system with the concern Signor Mussolini has proved for the worker and peasant against the inequities of the industrialist or the landlord. But the millions wonder and admiration goes out to the great achievements of the new Russian Soviet regime which seems to have accomplished in twenty years the work of a whole century. Why cannot some thing similar happen in India? Why cannot some thing similar be done for the Indian people? Why cannot some thing be culled out from the best in the dictatorial regimes of Russia and Turkey and Italy and Germany, and the democratic systems of France, United States and Britain, or the practical socialism of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, or the re-making of Massaryk's Czechoslovakia, and *combined to frame a practical system evolved out of Indian traditions and institutions suitable for the Indian people's emancipation advancement and aspirations?* Why cannot we forge out a future which may raise us from serfdom to power, from destitution to comfort, from economic anarchy to social reconstruction, from political subjugation to world power, from national humiliation to international prestige? Why not? Why not? Why not? These are the aspirations that throb in the minds of the youth and the intelligent workers and the village folks. "There is this aspiration and there can be a fulfilment, if only the soul of India can be recovered, and if it would be resurrected into energy and beneficent power.

CHAPTER VIII

WHAT IS GRAMISM?

Where is the Soul of India ?

WHERE can it be, but in its fields and pastures, its rivers and mountains? Somewhere it must be, hovering all over in the two thousand mile country side. Somewhere it must be, floating or buried. We must seize it and drag it out. It lived in the village and lies under its debris to-day. Sunken under a thousand years of dilapidation and depredation, it must be revived and revived. *The soul of India is in the villages, and its recovery means the resurrection of the village and the renaissance of India. This is the supreme task of the moment. This is the mission of this epoch. This must be the creed of our village multimillions, the faith of true Indian patriots, the inspiration of our workers of every class and community.*

Doctrine of Village Power

The Indian Village must be told of its future. It must be taught its faith. The rural worker must realise the potential power of his village. The village must know its place in polity and its functions in national reconstruction. It must appreciate its strength, and it must be instructed in its disciplined use for its own remaking and reshaping of the country. It must be awakened, organised and re-ordered. It must know what it will achieve with its co-ordinated force. It must acknowledge and announce its synthesis and its philosophy. It must proclaim its thesis, its policy, its principles and its purposes, its programme and its plan. It must evolve its own distinct ideology for India suited to the traditions of its past and the genius of its heritage. The doctrine of Village Power—*Gramism*—must make itself universal in India and incorporate within itself the fundamentals of a revolutionary resurgence and reconstruction, and a complete system, which by sheer force of preparation,

may win for India its freedom and for its peoples that emancipation and power which is their birth-right.

Philosophy of Coparcenary

Through a realisation of this *Gramism* and its fulfilment the INDIAN VILLAGE will express its soul-energy and release a current which may electrify all Asia and even dark Africa, for Asia and Africa live and die in their villages and their vast fields. *Gramism* is a distinct philosophy of *Coparcenary* of life evolving the new light of synthesis and co-operative energy for state and society, and the system of co-operative and collective economy and co-ordinated action of Indian Villages. This *Coparcenary* for *Gramism* is the extension and new orientation of the principle of joint family prevalent in India and Asia for national, social and economic life of the peoples, in the true conception of the country as a joint home, and the state as a national family-corporation for power and culture, security and plenty. This conception of *coparcenary* implies briefly a jointure of interest and endeavour for individual and common good and collective beneficence and power, with rights and duties for each and all, singly and collectively, each and all contributing a maximum of efforts services and resources, each and all acquiring a common minimum of basic needs, and the entire, system providing the fullest scope for individual and corporate energy and attainment for the commonweal in the village, the area, the region and the whole country. *It is a conception of a nobler humanity functioning through the State in a social order based on justice and equity and not exploitation and privilege.* *Gramism* restores to the Indian Village this heritage of culture co-operativism and corporationism. *Gramism* conserves the village into a unit of statal authority and economic power. *Gramism* seeks to achieve a creative revolution with the weapons of organisation preparation and disciplined and militant mass-action under the inspiration of its new faith and synthesis. *Gramism* declares the Indian Village as the pivot of India's policies and power reorganising the cultural political and economical life of India without the detonations of destructive class conflicts.

Gramism aims to assimilate the middle classes and working classes into a vast constructive programme. *Gramism* seeks to harness the intelligentsia as an intensive creative force. *Gramism* will offer to the aristocracy its restoration to its ancient glory of service to the motherland and the masses. *Gramism* will expect the capitalists to respond actively to Mahatma Gandhi's sane counsel of trusteeship by their sacrifices. *Gramism* will endeavour to seek the co-operation of Britain in its vast achievements. *Gramism* desires to eliminate the cataclysm of a conflict with the British power, by reorganising Village Power as an ally of true democracy and real freedom, and as a friend of the British peoples. *Gramism* visualises a reconstituted Indo-British Commonwealth. *Gramism* aspires to make India the fulcrum of world peace and world power for real international justice.

New Faith of Masses

Gramism is the age-long heritage of the Indian Village, and the Indian Village must claim its patrimony. That is why *Gramism* is the new faith of India's rural masses, for India is on the threshold of world events and at the cross-roads of its history. *Gramism* offers to the three-quarter million India's Villages and its three-hundred and fifty millions of peasant toilers and workers—an incentive, an enterprise, a deliverance, a motive, a purpose, an aspiration, an achievement, a belief, a faith, a hope and a vision; and so, *India's destiny lies in Gramism*.

Gramism is a fresh idealism and a constructive ideology to build up the mind of Indian peoples and a new foundation of Indian nationalism on the restitution of ancient ideals adopted to modernity. *Gramism* offers an incentive to action for a great adventure to restore India to its *sovereign* place in world affairs. *Gramism* endows our generation with a message and a mission to work for a vast conquest and to pass on a heritage of achievement for the future. *Gramism* ordains a complete socio-economic structure and the conservation and preservation of a super-heirarchy of rural agencies and village authorities constituted into a

political organism as an active State embodying the wisdom of the past, the experiences of this century, the realities of India, the needs of to-day and the potentialities of the future. *Gramism* is an essentially practicable plan of accomplishing within two decades what India and Asia have missed since two centuries.

Creative Revolt

Gramism is the creative revolt against European domination. *Gramism* is the real hope against tyrannous dictatorial aggressions of hungry economic imperialisms of Japan. Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy. *Gramism* is the call to expansionist powers to keep to their frontiers. *Gramism* is the protector of the Orient from a new thralldom. *Gramism* is the barrage against capitalist combination, political invasion and militarist aggression. *Gramism* is the sheet-anchor of real people's democracy. *Gramism* proclaims *Justice, Equity, Liberty and Freedom* to every country and all peoples without fear of intrigue or invasion. *Gramism* desires collaboration and admonishes conflict. *Gramism* works for *Harmony and Peace* against spoliation and savagery of wars or insurrections provoked by greed of gain or lust for power. *Gramism* is a new era of the peoples of India and all the East for their resurgence, and the reclamation of their birth-right of constituting their social, economic and political life without interference from sated Britain or other brigand powers. *Gramism* is the new evangelism of one thousand millions of human beings in India, China, Iran, Arabia, Russia and Africa for their resurrection into culture and power. *Gramism* is the expression of the spirit of India and the East, and it enunciates a doctrine and a creed with a universality of appeal for starving sceptical suffering humanity of two continents. *Gramism* is entrenched in the eternal doctrine of love and non-aggression of every country's territory or freedom or people's sovereignty. *Gramism* declares for the supreme truth—of *Coparcenary*—cooperativism and collectivism and the principles of equality, exchange, combination co-operation and co-ordination for extracting the utmost national and human

welfare by harnessing human will and collective energy to a moral code and social justice. *Gramism* has an international sphere and an Asiatic future. *Gramism* will be a world force for resisting aggression and for establishing international equity. *Gramism* is the trumpet march of the awakened multi-millions of India and the Orient to organise and equip and co-ordinate in defence of their spiritual heritage, their national soil, their economic power and their political sovereignties.

Rural Peoples' Commonwealth

Gramism has its home land in India, and *Gramism* defines for all Indian peoples a concrete revelation of their new destiny and a practical plan for its fulfilment. *Gramism* seeks to establish a living faith and operate in India a gigantic task for the enlightenment efficiency equipment and enrichment, of her three hundred and fifty millions, and lays down the tenets of a national gospel which will exalt their spirit for great sacrifices and great conquests and enable *India's mission as the saviour of divinity in man*. *Gramism* is born in India and belongs to India. *Gramism* will shape India into a World-State, and *Gramism* will recreate the Indian rural millions into a disciplined revolutionary power for reconstructing a *Rural People's Commonwealth*.

And this is Gramism for India :—

Gramism is a National Synthesis, a Political System, an Economic Order, a Social Philosophy and a Cultural Renaissance for India, based on the simple truths of history and nature which have made the Village the unit of power and authority, economic life and military strength, the home of morals culture and community life, the keeper of the standards of honour and sacrifice, the heart of national pride and true patriotism, the reservoir of dignity and prestige, the purveyor of social beneficence and prosperity, and the guardian of a code of conduct inspired by lofty idealism and regulated by perfect discipline:—

1. *Gramism* has a peoples' creed,—its thesis.
2. *Gramism* has its immutable purposes.

3. *Gramism* has its inviolable principles.
4. *Gramism* has its clear aims.
5. *Gramism* has its concrete objectives.
6. *Gramism* has its policy.
7. *Gramism* has its programme.
8. *Gramism* is a faith—the patriotic faith of the villages and village worker millions of India.
9. *Gramism* is the ideology of a new rural socialism and national freedom founded on village power.
10. *Gramism* is the belief of the village in its resurrection and renaissance.
11. *Gramism* is a conviction of the village in its utility and unity, in its strength and power.
12. *Gramism* is the confidence of the village in its autonomy and hegemony.
13. *Gramism* is a force of passive strength and collective action.
14. *Gramism* is an organisation of national power.
15. *Gramism* is a creative revolution.
16. *Gramism* is the spirit of real democracy.
17. *Gramism* is the heart of India.
18. *Gramism* is the voice of India's ruler workers—three hundred and fifty million masses of rural peoples.
19. *Gramism* is the energy of manhood.
20. *Gramism* is the soul of womanhood.
21. *Gramism* is the life of youth.
22. *Gramism* is the national resurgence of a liberated peoples and militant villages.
23. *Gramism* is the institution of the socio-economic, political and cultural resuscitation and reconstruction of three hundred and fifty million rural workers of India and their re-organisation into energy and power and affluence.
24. *Gramism* is renaissance.
25. *Gramism* is the organisation of the might of three quarter million villages in operation.

26. *Gramism* is the *Order* of village hegemony for rural renaissance, nationalism and practical socialism in India.
27. *Gramism* is the country-wide base of Indian Sovereignty.
28. *Gramism* is the Power of India and the Destiny of Indian Peoples.
29. *Gramism* creates the State and the Social Order.
30. *Gramism* is the security of Asia.
31. *Gramism* is the challenge to the evils of aggression and exploitation in Fascism, Nazism, and Imperialism.
32. *Gramism* is the guarantee of liberation of Africa and emancipation of coloured peoples.
33. *Gramism* is world peace.
34. *Gramism* is the *Solidarism* of the Indian peoples.
35. *Gramism* is Indian Nationhood.
36. *Gramism* is INDIA.

These are the fundamental and comprehensive basic conceptions and beliefs of the *Faith* of *Gramism*.

PART II

SOCOVIREIN

**THE
THESIS OF GRAMISM
IS
THE NEW GOSPEL OF INDIA**

1. Gramism has a Creed — Its Thesis

THIS *Basic Creed* of Gramism has been carefully elaborated. The theory of popular government—a people's polity and economy—a real democracy and its operative effects, have been considered in the first six articles. The proper bases for a real people's state has been stated in the next three articles (VII, VIII and IX). The natural conditions in India relating to geography, population, institutions, occupations, economics, society, administration and defence are detailed in five other articles (X, XI, XII, XIII and XIV). The next five articles (XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII and XIX) connote the doctrine of the supremacy of rural interests in the State. Three further articles (XX, XXI and XXII) emphasise the privileges and position of the rural worker. Five articles (XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI and XXVII) declare the functioning and constituting of the State. Three articles (XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) axiomate the Village as the pivot of Indian life in all its aspects, needs and aspirations. Three more articles (XXXI, XXXII and XXXIII) define the foundations and security for State in India. The last but one article (XXXIV) precisely states the logical sequence of the whole argument, and the last article (XXXV) enunciates the supreme goal of Indian Peoples.

The Thesis of Gramism

1. WHEREAS the principles of democracy and representative Government are the accepted doctrines of all free peoples;
2. AND WHEREAS in the course of historic development these principles have been used by the possessing classes to the detriment of the vast masses of society;
3. AND WHEREAS these principles have been perverted by the political and economic domination of the ruling and moneyed interests, to result in the exploitation of the working masses of the field or the factory;
4. AND WHEREAS in the conflict of class interests these principles have been practically negated by the establishment of plutocratic and authoritarian governments controlled by party institutions and alliances;
5. AND WHEREAS by interested exploitation of people's prejudices and ignorance, such party politics has resulted in the growth of the despotism of dictatorships or veiled absolutism of plutocratic oligarchy, disguised as democracy with autocracy of cliques;
6. AND WHEREAS such despotisms, whether open or veiled—of class dictatorships and unreal democracies—have destroyed the real freedom and power of the peoples and the natural sovereignty of the worker—masses, and further endangered peace by provoking and insisting on economic and racial domination and imperialistic ambition and aggression;
7. AND WHEREAS a State must have its foundations, deep in the hearts and sentiments of the peoples;
8. AND WHEREAS a State must be built on the institutions and interests of the peoples;

9. AND WHEREAS a State must exist only on the consent of and by the *conscious will* of the peoples;
10. AND WHEREAS India is a rural continent being essentially and primarily a country of villages and village institutions and village peoples;
11. AND WHEREAS the basic interest and occupation and industry and the source of other industries, trade and commerce is agriculture;
12. AND WHEREAS the agriculturist—cultivator—be he farmer, peasant, tenant (sharer or rent payer) or farm labourer—this rural worker is the prime producer and consumer, and is the mainstay of the economic life, political security and national defence of the country—India—and its sovereignty and power;
13. AND WHEREAS in India, the vast majority are cultivators who form eighty-five per cent. of the Indian peoples, and artisans and small traders who form about fourteen per cent. of the Indian peoples;
14. AND WHEREAS in India the vast preponderating majority, of nearly ninety-nine per cent.—of whom eighty-five per cent. are cultivators and ten per cent. only are artisans—craftsmen and workers—and only four per cent. are traders and others, forming essentially the rural working masses of three-hundred and fifty millions, live and toil in the villages;
15. AND WHEREAS the welfare conditions and interests, rights and privileges of agriculture and the village, the farm and the cultivator, the workshop and the craftsman, the store and the small trader, are paramount and all pervading;
16. AND WHEREAS the enlightenment, efficiency, equipment and enrichment of the village and the rural worker as citizen and soldier, is of *supreme* moment, importance, utility and value;
17. AND WHEREAS every policy and activity—cultural political, fiscal, social, educational, economic, legislative, administrative and military—bears directly

and indirectly on the village and the rural worker, namely, principally the agriculturist and also on the artisan, craftsman, trader, labourer, teacher and soldier in the village;

18. AND WHEREAS these rural areas—nearly seven hundred and fifty thousand villages, and these rural peoples—nearly three hundred and fifty millions of rural workers—cultivators and craftsmen, small traders and citizens—soldiers, are entitled to predominant consideration, participation and decision in all affairs of the country—political, defence, cultural and economic;
19. AND WHEREAS the *supremacy* of rural interests—the interests of the village and rural worker as citizen and soldier—must be the key-note and foundation-stone of State polity, economic order, public policy and national life in India;
20. AND WHEREAS the State must impart instruction training and discipline and experience in civics, administration, economic efficiency and national security to which every village and rural worker, as citizen and soldier, is entitled;
21. AND WHEREAS the State must confer on the village and the village peoples the benefits of—education, literature, music, amusements, sports, arts, crafts, science and technology, hygiene and health and physical culture, planned economy, organised agriculture, corporate village community, co-operative system and collective economy and coordinated action, administrative autonomy, social peace and political economic and national defence—with training and preparation—to all which every village and town and every worker and citizen is entitled;
22. AND WHEREAS the rural worker as citizen and soldier is the source and support of the country's strength and might and affluence and authority and honour and power;

23. AND WHEREAS the State must function on the principles and for the purposes and policy, approved and accepted by the peoples;
24. AND WHEREAS the State must be constituted to reflect the institutions and interests of the vast preponderating majority of the peoples who are the village and working peoples;
25. AND WHEREAS the institutions and interests of the vast masses in India are the institutions and interests of villages in India;
26. AND WHEREAS such institutions are the age-long institutions of the *Panchayat* and the *Mahajan*;
27. AND WHEREAS such interests are the interests of agriculture and home-crafts and local trade and allied commerce and industry and local autonomy and defence-power, of and in the village and town;
28. AND WHEREAS the Village is the pivot of India's prosperity and progress, authority and security, peace and power;
29. AND WHEREAS the predominant consent of the peoples for the State must be the *consent of the village* and the rural worker multi-millions;
30. AND WHEREAS the determining and decisive will in India must be the *conscious will of the village* through the voice and action of the rural worker;
31. AND WHEREAS the State in India must be founded on social equality and economic equity, national unity and sovereign independence, with self-administration and self-defence, *in the village and through the village*;
32. AND WHEREAS the State must be founded on the prosperity and economic power of the villages;
33. AND WHEREAS the State in India must have its authority, integrity and security based on the political power, self-sufficiency and defence-preparedness of the *villages*;
34. AND WHEREAS, therefore, in India, *the State must be constituted in the villages, of the villages, for the villages and by the villages, in association with towns*;

35. It is hereby solemnly declared, acclaimed, undertaken and pledged that the peoples of India in achieving complete national independence, shall constitute the free Indian National State, as a *SOVEREIGN Commonwealth of Village Republics of India* which shall be known and styled by the name of "SOCOVIREIN."

Note:—

This name SOCOVIREIN is made up of the first two letters of each word in the phrase 'Sovereign Commonwealth (of) Village Republics (of) India.'

Who will and how can any one dispute a single proposition in this THESIS ?

The world since the days of Greece and Rome has worshipped at the altar of democracy, popular legislatures and elected 'Tribunes' of the peoples. The British Parliament is the oldest representative institution, and the Soviet Constitution is the most recent innovation in democratic *concept, content, faith and function*. But in Britain, France and United States, these forms of representative government have been controlled by the landed and moneyed classes, who have influenced domestic measures and foreign policies in their own interests, subordinating the interests of the masses. Statutory enactments for the benefit of the factory worker or the farmer, whether they are labour or social service measures of Britain or the Blum Laws of France or the Socio-Economic Laws of Italy or Germany or Roosevelt's Recovery Laws, distinctly concede the privilege of exploitation to the capitalist, but regulate the manner and extent of exploitation to minimise discontent and ensure economic security to the working classes in course of social development. This historic process has worked itself out in shaping the new States of Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia where one ruling party enjoys absolute power and undisputed authority and where the government is the exclusive prerogative of one chosen and accepted dictator, and administration is an amalgamation of an autocracy and a

new democracy under different groups, as distinct from the balanced party system in Britain, France or the United States, whose democratic form and method are used adroitly to conserve and consolidate the capitalist control and exploitation, with partial suppression of freedom under the needs of national crisis or security of State. And along with these old systems of plutocratic democracies, which are the richer classes' oligarchies, influenced occasionally by popular sentiments and discontents, this new system of Fascism and Nazism has flourished and ripened—all based on property—privilege,—in contrast with the Soviet system based on the workers' and peasants' prerogative of power and prosperity and denial of profiteering and propertising. Each system, whether of liberal democracy or totalitarian authority, has evolved its peculiar technique for the regulation and restriction of individual liberty, control of social life and cultural progress, suppression as well as *expression* of opinion and association, direction of political and economic activity and authority, developing new human and social values and ideologies. But none of these systems is free from racial egoisms, religious or creedal fanaticisms, and national aggrandisements or exploitations which drive peoples and nations into bestiality, cruelty, injustice and mass-murder on false pretences for utterly wrong and selfish ends. Is it not correct that the United States and Soviet Russia are the only two democracies—each with its peculiar evolution, character, form and function each conscious of its power and intent on its security, and the preservation of its own order and standards—old or new.—These exemplifications of despotisms and false democracies must light the path of the Indian peoples to discover and create its own elixir of social justice and political expression in State polity and national authority, prosperity and security, for India.

How true it is that an enduring fabric of the State can only be maintained by the intuitive love and conscious will of the peoples, and such love and will can be reflected only in the creation of a State and System securing their interests, rights, privileges and cherished institutions. In India, the

Village is the world, and the cultivator and the craftsman are the principal producer and chief consumer, as well as administrator and soldier. In India, the sustenance of multi-millions is on farms; trade is based on agriculture; commerce is dependent on commodity values, and industrialisation is in a formative stage. It is therefore a national and natural inevitability, that, consistently with the Benthamic plea of the greatest good of the greatest number, the supreme factor in the problem of the State in India shall be the village and the worker of the village; that the major interest shall be the interest of the village people whose numbers, productive energy, consuming power, labour quality, social utility and political value and defence strength must entitle them to a predominating consideration and assurance in all policies and activities, that their socio-economic re-organisation, self-administration, self-defence and cultural acquisitions must be a mandatory function of the State. It is obviously then a universal reality that for India, the consent of the State must come from the villages, and the will of the State can only be the conscious will of the rural worker; and the *dynamics of authority*—social political, economic and military—must be derived from the village; and the *mechanics of power* must come through the village; and the foundation of the State must be based on the village with the natural and necessary consequence that the character, composition and constitution of the State must ensure the supremacy and the incorporated sovereignty of the 'village' in the Commonwealth of India.

These thirty-five articles in this THESIS OF GRAMISM embody the *canons* of its *new faith* for INDIA, and with a little adaptation, they can apply to all the millions of Burma, Ceylon, China, Russia, Turkey, Iran and Arabia. But it is for India to embrace and activise this faith as a militant doctrine for itself, and project it on other countries in Asia and Africa.

II. Gramism has its Immutable Purposes

THIS living faith of *Gramism* must have an ever-lasting motive power. It must be dedicated to absolute purposes which must be irrefutable and indestructible, which must remain changeless and permanent. These eternal purposes are :—

PURPOSES

1. A Free India.
2. A United India.
3. India—indivisible and invincible.
4. India—for the prevention of despotism and absolutism, for the prevention of tyranny and monopoly.
5. India—for the prevention of chaos and anarchy.
6. India—for the supremacy of "*Law, Order and Justice.*"
7. India—for the preservation of real economic democracy and peoples' polity and self-government.
8. India—for Village Power and Village Prosperity.
9. India—for the preservation of its Integrity, Unity Authority, and Sovereignty.

These truths need little comment. A free India and a united India have been the dream of the Mauryas, the Mughals and the Marathas. But it was left to Britain to perform a historical role in the evolution of India to a new nationhood to constitute India as a single political unit and administrative entity. The freedom and unity of India have been the aspiration of every Indian patriot of every sect or creed. Every Indian patriot adheres to the territorial integrity of India and the sacredness of Indian soil. Every Indian, however, unlettered or poor, will strive against all the evils of autocracy which has crushed the springs of free life and progressive social effort by the octopus of profiteerism, privilege, patriarchy and patricianism. Every Indian will labour and suffer for the maintenance of order and tranquillity, justice and

equity as he knows too well the horrors of a century of internecine strife and rapine before 1818. Every Indian, rich or poor, will sacrifice for the principles of economic democracy and reality of people's self-government. Every Indian will serve and work for the restoration of rural plenty, rural culture and rural and local authority—the Panchayat and the Mahajan—which have been their age-long tradition. Every Indian shall give blood cheerfully and freely to secure and ensure the Sovereignty of India, in substitution for its present subjection to Britain, and any other threat of subjection, exploitation or division by any foreign power or insurrectionary agency.

These, then, are the *Nine Immutable Purposes of Gramism* for which every Indian shall be prepared to live and work and suffer and sacrifice and shed his life blood, and for which every village shall be instructed, trained, organised, equipped and prepared for action.

III. Gramism has its Inviolable Principles

As a faith of the country, there must be solid principles to guide the peoples' thought, judgment, decisions and actions. Love of land, home and mother country is the greatest force in human affairs. It is a cardinal principle of a true citizen's and patriot's life. No Indian could tolerate the least surrender of the goal of complete national independence accepted by the Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikhs and the Hindus. The village millions will only understand and appreciate a Rural Commonwealth, and the Indian peoples must not only frame their own constitution, but establish their own Real Democratic State in which the peoples will have a real voice and a direct authority to shape their future. Such a State must be constructed evenly and equitably to enable its adaptability and efficiency in every emergency and crisis. These principles must be secured. The peoples must have an exalted sense of sacredness for their Indian Home Land—a spirit of the holy trusteeship of the integrity of the country, of its unity, authority and security from disruption or aggression, of the democratic ideal base and function, and of the Rule of Law as supreme over individual or arbitrary executive will. The peoples must treasure their sovereignty and hegemony as sacrosanct, and enthrone equity and justice in their commerce, institutions, socio-economic order and polity. The peoples must accept the supremacy of the Village and Rural worker in all Indian affairs. and recognise the authority of a *Rural Referendum* on internal problems of magnitude and particularly on all issues relating to Villages. The peoples must accept a *national plebiscite* in the four vital and major basic questions of Constitution, Economic Order, War and Foreign Affairs. The new system in India must be recreated on the autonomy and self-sufficiency of the village units, with corporate responsibility, co-ordinated action and central direction. The peoples must practise and protect national liberty,

self-sufficiency, rural autonomy, self-government, economic reconstruction and national defence. The peoples must strive and sacrifice for an economic democracy and economic equity to eliminate the maldistribution of wealth and secure a just and proportionate return to the cultivator, the craftsman, the trader, and the worker, by control of the instruments of finance, exchange, industry and agriculture. All the peoples must have a universal and open field and forum for cultural progress. And *Gramism* must be enshrined in the minds and hearts of all the Indian peoples in every village. These principles are enunciated thus:—

PRINCIPLES

1. Love of India as our National Home and Holy Fatherland.
2. Security of Indian Freedom and Independence.
3. Security of Rural Commonwealth and Indian Peoples' Constitution.
4. Security of the State on the basis of Balance and Elasticity, Stability and Continuity, ensuring Permanence and Power, Prosperity and Progress in the political and socio-economic life of the Indian Peoples.
5. Sacredness of the National Trust of Integrity, Law and Democracy.
6. Sacredness of the National Soil—the soil of India—the fatherland, undefiled by alien feet, free from foreign dominion.
7. Sacredness of National Unity, National Authority, and National Security.
8. Sanctity of India's Sovereignty.
9. Sanctity of India's Hegemony.
10. Sanctity of India's Covenants.
11. Purity of Justice—independent, impartial and impersonal.
12. Rural Supremacy.
13. Rural Referendum.
14. National Preparedness in Armament and Defence.
15. National Plebiscite.

16. Village and Regional Autonomy.
17. Central Direction.
18. Corporate Responsibility.
19. Political Self-Government.
20. Village Self-Sufficiency.
21. Co-ordinated Co-operative and Collective Economy.
22. Economic Equity.
23. Civil Liberty.
24. Cultural Equality; International Equality.
25. Complete Independence; and authority of *Gramism*,
and autonomy of the Gramist-Movement and
Gramist Organisation.

These are the Twenty-five Inviolable Principles of *Gramism* for scrupulous observation by every village and every Indian of every class or community.

The Power of *Gramism* as a Faith and the authority of the Gramist Movement and Gramist Organisation and the impulsion of gramist influence and action as a force must be dedicated to these principles.

IV. Gramism has its Clear Aims

EVERY Faith has transparent aims. The conditions in India, since the consolidation of British power after the fall of the Peshwas and the Sikhs, have reflected all the evils of a foreign domination exercising its political authority for economic exploitation and imperialistic aggression, acquisition and preservation. These conditions created and perpetuated the awful feudalism of the Princes and Zamindars, and their merciless sucking of the product and energy of the village and the rural worker. These conditions necessitated that the Government of India should be conducted as a Police State to serve as a Branch of the British Administration. These conditions destroyed all the national institutions of influence or authority, whether of the Village Panchayat or the Mahajan of the towns, trades and crafts, dislocated completely the economic life of the villages and masses, and upset occupations and crops. These conditions necessitated an educational policy which converted the colleges and schools into factories of inefficiency and unemployment, vanity and ignorance. These very conditions broke up the social fabric. These conditions of alien authoritarianism in the interests of foreign finance and industry, opened the country to a heedless exploitation of raw materials and their producers, with an uncaring discouragement and suppression of Indian initiative, effort, enterprise or industry. This subjection to British Power brought about the cruellest disarmament of a whole people and a great country, and resulted in the emasculation and demoralisation of the Indian peoples, and made India the dust-bin of the world market under the thumb of the City of London.

All this has to be undone. All this has to be remodelled. The life of the Indian peoples has to be re-shaped. The hope of the Indian peoples has to be reinforced. The future of the Indian peoples has to be restored. It is imperative

that a new political system and economic order must prevail in which the rural masses will have a supreme voice, which will be constituted as a Rural Commonwealth, and which will promote rural power. It is imperative that all exploitation must be stopped and resisted from every quarter by all the masses. It is imperative that the base of social reconstruction shall be co-operativism and collectivism and that the entire economic fabric must be re-organised and re-oriented so as to convert the Village and Rural Worker Masses into a source of militant energy for the State. It is imperative that the message of a new manhood and manliness, of a new confidence and esteem, must be poured into the vital arteries of the village millions by instruction in all the civic and military arts and organisation of crops, agriculture and economic power. These imperative aims are declared thus:—

AIMS

1. The achievement, inauguration, maintenance and preservation of a *Political Order* of Rural Supremacy, Rural Power, and Rural Commonwealth in India.
2. The achievement, inauguration, maintenance, and preservation of a *Social Order* based on the co-operative and collective principle, free of exploitation and domination of any class or community or country.
3. The achievement, inauguration, maintenance and preservation of an *Economic Order* wherein the rights and interests of the Rural Worker multi-millions shall predominate, and shall determine the character, constitution, and conduct of the political system (and its administration) and economic order and organisation in India.
4. To resist and repel exploitation—political and economic, by or of, any class or clique or party or group—internal, external, imperial or international.
5. To resurrect the Indian peoples into a strong virile proud and disciplined nationhood by new education

in citizenship, socio-economy, democracy and defence,—and by universal training in administration and all arms for a peoples' polity and peoples' army and air force.

6. To restore India to its due position of prosperity prestige and power among the Comity of Free Nations.

These are the *Six Clear Aims* of *Gramism* which every Indian and Village shall regard as a national birthright.

V. Gramism has its Concrete Objectives

THE work that *Gramism* desires to accomplish cannot be promoted without defining the exact objectives sought to be attained, so that the peoples may have full cognisance of the *ends* which they have to strive to secure and preserve. For a proper discussion, these objectives have been divided into sections. Each section is given a brief elucidation:—

SECTION "A"—ORGANISATIONAL

1. To establish Village Unions.
2. To co-ordinate Village Unions into centres, groups, areas, districts, divisions, regions and provinces.
3. To constitute the Gramist Confederation of Village Unions for a Commonwealth of Indian Peoples to be called the All India Village Confederation.

Gramism requires an organisational structure for propaganda, instruction and action. As *Gramism* must activate the village and the rural masses, it must base its structure on the village and develop it collectively. Every village must found a Gramist Union, which must strive to make the village the source of authority and sphere of national effort, which must strive to convert the village into a creator of wealth and radiator of culture and morals, the reservoir of national power, and the home of social equity and beneficent co-operative action and collective planning. These Gramist Unions of Villages have to be linked up in centres, groups, areas, and regions and combined into a compact country-wide organisation. The centres should be formed on the basis, that all villages included in the centre can be toured on foot in one day from sun-rise to sun-set, and that meetings of village executives or leaders can be held for discussion and planning action, and that all village peoples in the centre can walk up in the evening or night to attend a general meeting of the whole centre. Centres approachable on horse-back or bullock-cart in one day should

form a group, and groups approachable with a motor car in one day should form an area. Areas which can be covered in six days' travel should form a district, and adjacent districts should form divisions and several divisions may form a regional or provincial unit. It may be noted that in forming districts or divisions, social, economic and educational conditions must be taken into account to secure and preserve proper collaboration through a similarity of outlook attitudes and interests. All these villages all over India will constitute the All India Village Confederation of which these centres, groups, areas, districts, divisions, regions and provinces shall be graded authorities for co-ordination, control and command. Their various powers and functions, duties, detailed work, responsibilities and constitution will be drawn up in due course.

SECTION "B"—REGIMENTAL

1. To train the village folk and town-people in physical culture, sports and games.
2. To train the village folk and town-people in drill, scouting and first aid.
3. To train the village folk and town-people in self-defence, village and town protection and national defence.

Gramism designs to regiment the village folk in a disciplined manhood and womanhood. *Gramism* designs to organise the youths and maidens into units of utility and service for the village, the region and the country. *Gramism* designs to train the village peoples in personal self-defence, protection of their village and area and regional and national defence. *Gramism* designs to convert every village into a camp, a trench and a fortress against aggression. *Gramism* designs to make every village worker a defender of his Gramist Faith, his country, his polity and his socio-economic power, and *Gramism* designs to make every village and town a citadel of real practical democracy and a bastion against autocracy and absolutism.

SECTION "C"—ETHICAL

1. To teach the people the spirit and value of *Coparcenary*—a life of co-operative and collective endeavour, contribution, service, self-denial, combination and sacrifice for individual and common and national beneficence, security and power.
2. To teach and train the people the dignity and duty of labour, the value of competency and discipline, the power of work and system and spirit of honour.
3. To train and organise the villages and peoples for local, areal, regional and national action, in political, economic, social and defence work, for commonweal and country.

SECTION "D"—INSTRUCTIONAL

1. To liquidate ignorance and superstition by universal literacy and mass education, and to impart information and knowledge on social, political, economic matters and current affairs and world events.
2. To train villages in democracy and self-government.
3. To train villages in corporate activities and nationalism.

There cannot be a sure basis for fulfilling the tasks of *Gramism* unless there is a well informed and properly instructed people in the villages. The removal of illiteracy is only the elementary task. Improvement of the mind, development of interest in problems, training in discrimination, judgment, detachment, impersonal outlook, organising capacity, disciplined co-ordination, executive ability, decisions and firmness, a spirit of just authority and a lofty conception of selfless duty, are essential for building up in each village in India a stronghold of character, service, corporate life and power and sacrifice for the sacred cause of *Gramism* and its gospel and purposes and principles. Through such instruction and training the *Village Organisation* can become a series of phalanxes of defences for the State and the country for preserving its unity and integrity and authority. Through such instruction and training the village

organisation can become the bastion of resistance against exploitations, usurpations, disruptions and aggressions.

Through such instruction and training, the Village Organisation can become the ceaseless and continuous reserve of resources and reservoir of leadership, and safeguard of true democracy, which means not merely the vote or delegation, but the understanding, the comprehension, the spirit, the courage and will to act in unison and harmony for the defence of causes and principles irrespective of personal influences or factional intrigues or party professions, which means a realisation of democratic principles and a quick consciousness of every danger to peoples' democracy or country—which implies mass initiative and mass sentiment and mass energy to exercise their prerogative to depose or dethrone individuals or authorities who may be found incompetent or unworthy—which means the existence of trained intelligences and executives who can be vigilant and watchful, which means the collective preparedness of the peoples to express fearlessly what they feel and think, and to act quickly and determinedly like an army in all crises, which means the continual flow of capable men and women of fine character, incorruptible integrity, keen minds, and iron faith and inflexible purposes, who can replace in thousands all who may be displaced or dead. All this instruction and training are necessary to create a resurgent nationalism and real patriotism on a spiritual basis, fired by the urge to sacrifice for Village and the Rural Commonwealth, the Country and the sacred cause of pure nationalism and Gramism. Such instruction and training must be carefully devised and planned and conducted by the Village Organisation independently, as well as by the State who should give every support.

SECTION "E"—CULTURAL

1. To educate village folks in ethics and social economics.
2. To educate village folk in general knowledge and history.
3. To educate village folk in music and arts.

Gramism desires that the vast masses of India should be well informed and enlightened. The village peoples should develop a literature and music, art and architecture of their own. The village people must be given information on modern events in their bearings and probable reactions. The village people must be taught the theory and practice of democracy and the value of collective and corporate effort and the organisation of co-ordinated and planned economic life and social services. The village peoples must be given a fair knowledge of the various sciences. The village peoples should be educated in the ideals of community service and collective action, national sacrifice and personal devotion to causes, ideals and principles. *Gramism* desires the making of village peoples into a highly moral people with a code of honour possessing chivalrous ideals and temperament. *Gramism* desires to build up a fine rural character by inculcating respect for truth, justice, fair play, rectitude and integrity, reverence for womanhood and nationhood, regard and care of the aged and the sick, duty of protection of the weak against the tyranny of the strong and concern for the children-wealth as the preservers and promoters of national honour and national power. *Gramism* wishes to revive the wonderful courtesy and hospitality and chivalry and spirit of sacrifice. *Gramism* desires to institute a superb cultural renaissance in all the three quarter million villages which may radiate its faith and light in India and reach all over Asia and Africa.

SECTION "F"—CIVIL

1. To train the village folks in Organisation.
2. To train the village folks in Civics.
3. To train the village folks in Sanitation.

The present conditions of villages in India are appalling. *Gramism* designs that the village folks shall learn to apply their local talent and energy in organising their social and economic life. *Gramism* designs that village peoples shall understand the privileges and discharge the functions of

citizenship with full efficiency. *Gramism* designs that village peoples shall learn to evaluate the principles and purposes of democracy and to operate them in practice. *Gramism* designs that village peoples shall learn and practise the essentials of sanitation, personal and domestic hygiene, and build up sound healthy physiques which can bear strain and endure hardships toil and suffering.

SECTION "G"—SOCIAL

1. To secure the amenities of modern life for the villages.
2. To secure cultural and social services for villages and towns.
3. To secure amenities and cultural and social services for the urban working classes including the small-incomed middle classes.

These objectives require very little elucidation. The villages cannot be permitted to remain in the condition of middle ages. All modern amenities of life must be a part of the village life. The primary amenities are good drinking-water supply, sanitation, lighting and roads. In addition there will be full cultural and social services. Schools, plays, gymnasiums, parks, entertainments, music, pictures, lectures, debates, medical and surgical aid, child-welfare, ambulances, etc., must be available in all villages and towns. In large cities all these amenities and services with decent housing in addition should be available to the working classes and middle classes with small incomes. It should be the function of the State to provide good housing in towns for holders of incomes below Rs. 100/- per month at cheap rates or on the hire purchase system; for persons earning above Rs. 100 and upto Rs. 500/- there should be housing finance syndicates and co-operative housing colonies. There should be a system of insurance for all social services to provide which there should be a graded contribution from all classes of peoples in villages towns and cities.

SECTION "H"—ASSOCIATIONAL

1. To support the Workers' Unions in their fight for their rights of collective bargaining, adequate wages and good living conditions.
2. To support political parties in the legislatures in measures of cultural and economic benefit to the villages and working masses, the intelligentsia and wage-earning classes.
3. To support every public organisation or party in their struggle for independence, liberty, democracy and security of India.

Gramism wishes to make it clear that it stands for the urban working and wage earning classes whether of the factory, workshop or shop or trade or business office. *Gramism* has a distinct mission to incorporate these working and wage-earning classes into workers' guilds who will look after their training and qualifications, efficiency and career, comforts and conditions of work and wages. The sole objective is to secure a guarantee of quality of labour, a guarantee of career and income for the labourer, and a guarantee of the mobilisation of the efficiency and energy of the working classes in the stupendous tasks of national reconstruction, and re-organising and defending national economic life and polity in the interests of rural and urban working masses and small traders and wage-earners. *Gramism* shall, therefore, plan initiate promote and support legislative and administrative measures which aim at the cultural renaissance and economic prosperity of the village peoples and peoples of towns with limited means.

Gramism has a political mission of freedom and *Gramism* will promote, develop, support and strengthen the struggle for national independence and national liberties, and security of democratic polity, and economic emancipation and equality, and the sovereignty, integrity and authority of India.

SECTION "I"—POLITICAL

1. To accomplish the autonomy of villages as self-administering units with local authority and jurisdiction in executive, revenue and judicial affairs.
2. To accomplish the establishment of representative administration in districts and regions.
3. To accomplish the establishment of *Village Franchise* and a Parliament of Villages and Towns and Cities for the Governance of India.

The Village Community formed a complete social, economic, administrative and defence unit in pre-British times. With the imposition of British Rule and the introduction of the British Administration, its centralising policy appropriated the functions of administration of the village community. Deprived of power and authority it lost in prestige and influence, and the village elders, instead of being heads and judges and commanders, became the agents of local British Authorities, quarrelling for preferences and favours and advantages. Economic life became a prey to the inroad of foreign competition, and social life disintegrated as a natural sequence. The Decentralisation Commission recommended the recreation of local authorities in Villages and Talukas and Districts, and urged the introduction of local self-government. The Reforms of Lord Ripon in self-government were wholly negatived in spirit by the British bureaucracy which was reluctant to loose their grip and forego their executive power. Even the 1919 Reforms of the Secretary of State—Edwin Montague—one of the truest well wishers of India, failed to build up a promising fabric of local self-government in rural areas. The Provincial Ministries in this present regime under the 1935 Act were planning strenuous reforms of Local Bodies, and a re-introduction of the Panchayat System of Village Councils. The Pant Ministry of the United Provinces wisely framed a very elaborate though incomplete measure of Local Self-Government and an establishment of Village Councils with wide powers.

This policy, however, has to be very carefully and considerably planned as it is not merely a question of giving some power to villages. It is really a question of administrative principle, *whether the authority of the village is a matter of devolution or the provincial authority is a matter of delegation by the village authorities.* This is a basic problem of High Policy and is in fact a principle for the Statal structure. *The village must be the source of Sovereign Authority and must constitute the supreme sovereign organic unit of All-India.* The **VILLAGE AUTHORITY** must therefore be so constituted as to be a real instrument of power and an active and efficient agency for carrying out the functions of the State. It is essential, therefore, that the Village should be regarded as an autonomous unit entitled to the privilege of self-administration unless the privilege is defiled by gross misuse, treachery, tyranny, injustice or incompetency.

The Village should function as a local authority for the purposes of administration, defence, economic organisation, and social services. The Regional, District and its Sub-divisional authorities should exercise controlling, directive and appellate powers, and discharge advisory and supervisory functions. These District Authorities may be given a representative character for functional efficiency by the constitution of District Councils to advise and assist the District Authority in all governmental and national work. The object of such representation must be to increase the efficiency of the authority, and the representation should therefore come from various subordinate agencies, allied authorities, and public institutions and organisations. The Provincial Authority must be similarly constituted of active Advisory Boards to assist the Provincial Cabinet in their multifarious activities, and their sole aim should be to increase the utility, the effectiveness and quickness of executive decision and action as also legislative deliberation. *The ultimate object is to empower the Village—instructed, trained, experienced and equipped—with franchise for the selection of the Chief of the State and for constituting a Parliament of the Villages, Towns and Cities as the Supreme Legislative,*

Economic, Judicial and Defence Power and Authority for the whole country. Such a parliament should be so constituted as to be composed of the rural workers, factory and workshop and railway and dock-workers, the small trader, the shop employees, and the intelligentsia and the lower middle classes, in its Peoples' Assembly, and of the Regional Delegates in its Senate, and of a Council with advisory prerogatives and mandatory powers only in cases of grave menace to the security and sovereignty of the Realm, in which Council the cream of the talent, ability, experience, and wisdom of the country may be sought, for collaboration in the task of creating and maintaining India—as a political unit, an economic force and a world power.

SECTION "J"—NATIONAL

1. To secure Complete National Independence.
2. To secure the Sovereignty of the Villages and the Indian Peoples.
3. To secure the Integrity of United India.

Complete National Independence is the declared goal of the Indian National Congress, and the Muslim League has also accepted this goal as its own. The method urged by the Congress is the framing of a constitution for India by a constituent assembly elected by Indians on the basis of adult franchise. The principle is the right of self-determination. Mahatma Gandhi has on various occasions said that he cared only for the substance of independence. He has declared that this independence may be within the Empire if possible and without the Empire if necessary. He has urged that India must have the right to sever from Great Britain—which is no more than the right to secede which is said to be acceded to the British Dominions. This is the Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster, which is sought to be applied to India, forgetting that between the dominions and Britain there is a *common bond* of race, language, social structure and sentiment, *which does not exist in the case of India*. India in fact has racial geographical, social and economic affinities with Asiatic countries on her borders. India, therefore, requires

an entirely distinct political structure and national authority with association and alignments with Russia, China, Afghanistan and Iran. India has, therefore, to create anew her own political and socio-economic structure on the basis of its historic and economic affinities of a thousand years and not on the one-century-fact of political subjugation to Britain. India must have an essentially independent status.

Even the application of the Statute of Westminster to India must be distinct in that Britain should choose to agree to India's freedom without reservation, settling the question of Princes, defence and economic problems by a separate convention but without subtracting from sovereign powers from India's constitution. Even in that case, this 'Dominion Status'* cannot survive in the same form any war or imperial catastrophe; and the Statute of Westminster may itself become distinctly and differently representative of and responsive to the compelling demands of circumstances as the security of the commonwealth may be found a fiction. The essential basic conception of the British Commonwealth as a racial preserve and as a sacred ring for British capital-finance, and the idea of the British and American parliamentary democracy and social philanthropism, cannot be reconciled to the imperative demands of the present age, when *humanity is groping for new truths, and missions, for its re-idealisation and re-organisation*, which it must seek from the terrible experiences of this century in Russia, Germany and Italy, Turkey, Britain, France, Spain, Japan and China. India needs real independence to evolve its own future and forge its new destiny.

* This Dominion Status had undergone the vital change without actual severance from Britain during this war. Canada entered into a defensive pact with the United States under a Joint Commission, Australia is preparing for such a pact and Joint Commission for defence with the United States; Ireland has remained aloof and annoyingly neutral; South Africa has Ex-Premier General Hertzog and his party insisting on neutrality and peace by cessation of hostilities. The British Commonwealth is practically becoming an Anglo-Saxon, consolidation or American-British authority for Joint World dominion, for mutual self-preservation and perpetuation of their systems of state and social structure of individualism and competitionism unrestrained except in catastrophic crises as this War—for which partial control has been exerted.

It is hoped and wished that even after this war, Britain may devolve a superior and more moral and juster social structure and retain her leadership in world affairs by a new orientation of her national and international political and economic policies exemplified by restoration of freedom to India and collaboration without domination in reconstructing India's new life and polity and economy which Gramism aims to achieve absolutely.

The phrase "complete national independence" has very grave import and is not a sentimental notion only. It must be 'independence' that is freedom from domination and dependence. The domination to-day is that of Britain—the dependence is on British Power for its security. Essentially, therefore, it must be independence without any, political, military or financial domination. 'Dependence'—implying interdependence is another matter. France is dependent on Britain for its independence and security. Britain is independent but is dependent on France, Italy, Spain and Egypt for its security. Dependence may not be in matters of defence but finance. Both France and Britain depend on the United States. Germany, Italy and Russia have been trying their utmost for self-sufficiency and yet they are dependent on London and New York finance. In the same manner, there may be political dependence in the sense Germany and Italy are, through their Axis-policy. The fundamental of independence is in freedom of will of a country expressed through its State Power to take whatever course of action it chooses in its internal affairs without any control or dictation from any other State, and to adopt whatever policy it thinks right in its external affairs irrespective of any influence or pressure or inducement or threats from any other power. *The touch-stone of independence is the power of the country to preserve this freedom of will.* Truly speaking only two countries, Soviet Russia and the United States are really and fully independent. Great Britain and her Commonwealth are extraordinarily vulnerable and inter-dependent. Of these, the United States seeks the support of the democracies of France and the British Commonwealth and the South American Republics in her bold plea for freedom and liberty and international order and justice against the aggressions and annexations of Japan, Italy and Germany. It is only the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which stands unique in the supreme majesty of its entire freedom from all entanglements or aids. Soviet Russia alone possesses absolute independence which can be called complete and national in the fullest and real sense.

In India, politicians and vested interests think of independence in terms of political authority and economic freedom. The extent and content of independence is according to their measure, a question of expediency. Congressmen led by Mahatma Gandhi speak of independence in terms of service to the masses in their education, health and economic betterment. Communists and socialists think of independence in terms of Marxism, and never cease to theorise and dispute. The masses of India gape at all this cross-meanings of independence, for every one goes to them, talking of their welfare, with democracy on their lips, autocracy in their minds, and exploitation of their simplicity in their hearts to secure their support. *Gramism* desires to leave aside all these theories and disputes and interests and foreign 'isms,' and impregnate the masses of India with their own native *Village-Ism* for '*Gram*' means a village, and '*Gramism*' is the creed of resurrection, restoration, reconstruction and renaissance of the Villages and the Village Workers, for confederating and constituting their own Workers-State. For Gramism, independence must be absolute, and complete national independence must mean freedom from any and every alien or foreign or non-Indian domination or exploitation, with such alliances and agreements with other countries as may be necessary for India's interests and independence. The objective of Gramism is not merely the attaining but also the security of complete independence of India as a Free Nation and a Free Country, because the true basis of sovereignty is its security.

This basis of security in India resides in the resources and resilience of the villages and the village worker, and therefore, the objective of *Gramism* is the sovereignty of village workers—who constitute the Indian peoples. The juristic basis of Indian Sovereignty must, therefore, be founded on the corporate sovereignty of the villages of India who are the inseparable units of this Sovereignty and who will constitute, by confederating as a Commonwealth, the Supreme State Power in a United India. The Integrity of India is essentially and eventually the inte-

grity of every village in India. The interests of the villages as repositories of sovereign authority, and political, economic and defence power, being identical and inter-linked, the least encroachment or aggression on a single village in India, should be a fuse to light up resistance in all the seven hundred and fifty thousand villages. The integrity of each village must hence create and conserve the integrity of a United India. These are the real national objectives of *Gramism*.

SECTION "K"—INTERNATIONAL

1. To secure the recognition of India as a Free and Sovereign State.
2. To secure the rights and interests of India on the basis of equality and reciprocity and independence.
3. To secure the dignity and prestige of India as an Independent Sovereign Power.

The three objectives stated above are the supreme objectives of *Gramism* for India in the international sphere. India desires to attain to a Sovereign Status in the world. India has not the slightest intention to remain a tailed link of the British Power. India aims at having her sovereignty accepted juristically and recognised internationally. The Irish Free State has established its sovereignty. Canada wants to be styled a Kingdom. Australia is reconsidering the evils of Federation for a Unitary Government, and South Africa has adopted the word Sovereign in its constitution. India claims from Britain as a matter of good-will that this sovereign status will be peacefully conceded to India in the shortest period to avoid India's wresting it by sheer weight of concentration, and the brilliant weapons of non-co-operation and boycott, disciplined resistance, mass action and appropriation of authority, on the technique of non-violence. *Gramism* seeks to prepare the villages and village workers to acquire and assert their sovereignty and achieve the political-economic emancipation of India. It is *Gramism's* aim that the Gramist State in India should be strong and powerful

to safeguard and secure Indian rights and interests abroad in foreign countries. *Gramism* lays down clearly that all international dealings and relationship between India and other countries shall be based on *equality* and *reciprocity* as distinct from dictation or compulsion or coercion or domination. *Gramism* desires that India shall command weight and prestige in international councils, and the attention and authority due to a great Sovereign Power, which is independent by its own right and resources, and resistances to all encroachments on its integrity or independence or authority.

SECTION "L"—INTERNAL

1. To prevent any domination of any class or interest.
2. To prevent the dismemberment or disintegration of any part or territory of India.
3. To prevent the disruption of National Unity and National Authority.

The internal objectives of *Gramism* are very sound. The essence of independence is socio-economic emancipation and not a sham democratic frame-work. Such an emancipation must assure that no privileged class or vested interest shall dominate. This assurance must be achieved in each village where all must exercise common rights and powers and share same services and obligations. The village worker must ensure the elimination of exploitation and substitution of co-operation and collectivism. The village should base its socio-economic life and administrative authority on the principles of justice and equity. The village should assimilate its petty bourgeoisie in its system according to its tradition, and should make the interests of the entire village community and not the individual, supreme in the affairs of the village and the country.

It is equally an ingredient of true corporate independence that such independence is not divisible or separate, and hence *Gramism* cannot permit any disintegration of any section of Indian peoples or any portion of India from the

corporate unity of India. *Gramism* conceives of the life of India as a composite and integral whole and cannot permit any localism or provincialism to interfere with such national integration and consolidation. *Gramism* must, therefore, resist and prevent every thing that may tend to the disruption of All-India—unity and central authority. Gramist unity must symbolise this national unity and national authority, and every village and village worker must be watchful and vigilant to preserve this complete and cohesive gramist unity which is the only unity of India—the unity of the identity of life and interests and aspirations of every village and the village workers.

SECTION “M”—EXTERNAL

1. To avoid any alliances.
2. To ensure commercial treaties for exchange of specific goods.
3. To repel any interference of any kind whatever under any plea whatever of any foreign country.

Gramism must have equally clear guidance for the external relations of India. The external relations are commercial and political. Political and commercial relations are constantly in a flux, according to the altering circumstances of economic trends and the rivalry of foreign States. States have need of friendship with other powers, but all such relations imperceptibly change colour and character, unless there is perfect equality of status and strength, and consolidated authority and unity. Without a real basis of equality even reciprocity becomes in actual practice subservience to the stronger ally. It is advisable to avoid any alliances which may create entanglements and risks of burdens and wars in which India is not directly involved or interested. The most sensible alliance is a pact of non-aggression. India must beware of all great powers as allies. India must avoid every commitment for political or other assistance in case of wars.

Even commercial relations should be on the basis of treaties only, and appreciation of the political motives of foreign states should be the prime consideration in planning India's foreign commerce; and powers which have openly broken treaties and pledges and committed aggressions and violated the sovereignty of other States under pretences for their own domination and exploitation should be regarded with danger signals, and greatest care should be taken that no phrase or condition may be utilised by such power for intriguing or interfering in India's domestic affairs or internal polity and policies. Foreign commerce should be based on exchange of specified goods and commodities and any arrangement which creates foreign credits abroad and results in practical liquidation or assets which remain only book entries in the formal commercial balance sheet must not be tolerated. Commercial treaties must not only include a tariff and customs agreement but also an agreement about quantity and quality of goods with a precise statement of the articles and further they must include agreement and measures for payment and settlement and adjudication of disputes. The objective must be a constant vigilance against any form or substance of foreign intervention and interference in Indian affairs and there must never be any pusillanimity or weakness or accommodating expediency in rejecting resisting and repelling every such plea and pretence of interference and every covert or overt act of intercession.

SECTION "N"—ECONOMIC

1. To accomplish efficient cultivation of land.
2. To accomplish the prosperity of agriculture crafts and industry.
3. To accomplish complete self-sufficiency of the Village in food, fodder, fuel, credits, crafts and communications.

The gravest problem of a new India for its economic statesmanship is the problem of the ever-growing population and limited land. The redemption of the land from

its vassalage to the money-lender and the land-owner is the real question, with which is allied the question of preventing a relapse into the same or similar condition. The conception of land must have a community and national basis. Land cannot be merely the private estate of owners but the economic instrument of a country's supplies sources equipment and reserves. The ancient conception that land belongs to the community, and that the individual is only a trusted agent having rights of its user with inevitable duties and incidental gains, has a great meaning, and embodies the comprehension of a real truth that land and labour are complementary and are contributions to the wealth, beneficence and power of the State and the Country. It would be necessary to restore this conception of land and its sacred functions, and of the peasant and his noble duties, in order to re-constitute the village as a pivotal base of Indian polity and economy. The principles governing the administration of land within a village community must be limitation of a maximum acreage for individuals and families, combination of holdings for productive tillage, labour and finance-contribution and conscription, co-operative farming, collective agriculture, collective industry and corporate control of the village community. The village must be an economic corporation where agriculture, crafts and industry are co-ordinated for self-contained prosperity. The objects are :—

1. To achieve a full measure of local self-sufficiency, ensuring against draught, scarcity, famine or other contingencies and crises, and to contribute efficiently to regional self-sufficiency; and
2. To secure the vitality of economic life and reserves in villages and areas, independently of communications or aid in commerce or credit. The villages, in suitable economic areas of planned productivity and industry, should constitute autonomous economic corporations which may always be sustained as the strength and support of national life.

SECTION "O"—INDUSTRIAL

1. To prevent the domination of capitalist-ism.
2. To achieve an equitable distribution of incomes of industry and farming, among the workers, technicians, directives and investors.
3. To support the establishment of heavy industry as national industry.

Gramism has to secure some definite objectives for the industrial policy and programmes of India. One of the essentials of the new policy is to discourage the monopolist capitalist control of trade, exchange, commerce and finance and industry. It is essential that the Gramist State should have the exclusive control of economic policies. But until the entire economy of the country is converted into collective or co-operative economy, the State should at least restrict the continued growth of individual capitalist-ism and promote co-operative and collective economic life. The word "Capitalist-ism" is used deliberately to express the domination of capitalists. The basis of industrial economics for *Gramism* is minimum wage, interest and dividend, full productive efficiency, participation in control and profit-sharing, rationalised output and distribution, and transport co-ordination. The essential objective must be the self-supply of all national needs of India, and the control and direction of individual and corporate enterprise for the promotion and conservation of such complete solidarity and self-sufficiency. All key and heavy industries must be "national" and the State must regard itself as the protecting guardian of the entire industry with the rights of controlling the financing and directing interests of an industry.

(Note :—The National Planning Commission established by Mr. Subash Chandra Bose as President of the Indian National Congress in 1938 with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman has been working zealously and has nearly finished its versatile task. Its report is bound to be a very valuable document and its formation and work are an index

of the responsible thinking of Indian patriots whose economic statesmanship will surely be found as great as their political sagacity.)

SECTION "P"—RURAL INDUSTRIAL

1. To train the village folk in spinning and weaving.
2. To train the village folk in honey-making, dairying, poultry and sheep farming.
3. To train the village folk in animal husbandry (bullocks, cows, buffaloes, horses, etc.).

Gramism designs to increase the means of village folk and promote their prosperity and increase the national wealth manifold times. *Gramism*, therefore, designs that the village folk should have supplementary productive work, and *Gramism*, therefore, desires to plan spinning and weaving in villages on a national scale. *Gramism* also designs to promote the honey, butter and egg supply and wool supply for a world market. *Gramism* also designs that the cattle-wealth of India must be increased and that India must become a cattle market for foreign export.

SECTION "Q"—AGRICULTURAL

1. To train the village folk in farming arboriculture and horticulture.
2. To train the village folk in wood-craft and forestry and irrigation.
3. To train the village folk in soils, manures and weather-lore.

Gramism lays emphasis on economic reorganisation and reconstruction. *Gramism* designs better crops and larger crops, more flowers and vegetables and fruits, medical herbs and plants, and trees and plantations and forests. *Gramism* therefore, designs to provide the village folks with training in better farming with better seeds, co-operative or collective farming, storing and marketing. *Gramism* designs instruction in soils, weather and manures for agricultural improvement. *Gramism* designs to develop woods and

forests and bird-life and pet animals. *Gramism* designs training the village folk in organising and managing local irrigation works for farm and village use. *Gramism* designs agricultural prosperity and the development of rural economic power as the very base and resource and reserves of the nation against all emergencies and catastrophies.

SECTION "R"—TECHNICAL

1. To train the village folk in crafts.
2. To train the village folk in mechanical repairs.
3. To train the village folks in the use of machinery.

Gramism designs that the village folk should be skilled in the practice of crafts for their own profit and for national self-sufficiency. *Gramism* designs that the village folk should be taught the use of machines and repairs in order that they may be able to make the fullest use of mechanical implements of economic use such as tractors, motors, oil-engines, looms and lathes. The village people should have a definite workshop-training. The carpenter, the smith, the cobbler; the toy-maker, the basket-maker, the spinner and the weaver should have perfect training in order that they may fit in the national economy and village utility with fullest efficiency.

These are the Eighteen Concrete Objectives of *Gramism* which all should endeavour to accomplish.

VI Gramism has its Policy

N O faith of a people or a country can sustain itself without conflict unless there are clear policies. *Gramism* as a faith an institution and an organisation of the Indian Villages and three hundred and fifty millions of rural folk ordains a set of doctrines to be the *guide* and *test* of all activities in the internal and external affairs of India. These doctrines may be expounded and enlarged within the *Scheme of Gramism* and subject to the Eternal Square of Gramism. its thesis, immutable purposes, inviolable principles and clear aims. This set of doctrines of the Policy of Gramism consists of sixty-five articles.

Article—1. Conquest of Power by the Villages through :

- (1) Control of the Electorates;
- (2) Influencing of the Legislatures;
- (3) Participation in Authority;
- (4) Direction of Executives.

The first article is the basic article. It directs that the villages should acquire complete power in the State. It implies the enunciation of the supreme gramist doctrine—*All Power to Villages*, in India. This conquest of power must be full and thorough. Control of the electorate means the conversion of the electorate to *Gramism* and support of the entire mass of the electorate of the villages as also towns to *Gramism*. The control should be organised and made effective through the local units and graded authorities in the gramist heirarchy for vigilance and operation and co-ordination. The rural vote must be the cherished possession of *Gramism*, which, with the support of this rural vote must exercise its mandate continuously and actively. This mandate may be local or for the area or a zone or a region or for a definite measure or activity or for a province or the whole country and the nation. The corollary is that the legislative authorities must be influenced by the villages for operating *Gramism*. This implies that *Gramism* must

influence all elections to the legislatures and all electoral or consultative bodies in every province, state or part of the country. This also necessitates that the villages shall exercise all initiative, and through its village bodies and nominees or representatives, participate actively in the executive authority and general administration comprising the four principal heads—social, civic, economic and defence. This conquest of power also implies that the villages through their delegates or deputies in legislatures and other autonomous or administrative bodies or departments shall actively guide the direction of the country's policies and affairs and programmes and activities in pursuit of *Gramism*.

This conquest of power by the villages for *Gramism* is the sovereign prerogative of the rural worker; and the rural worker shall organise for this achievement and shall be instructed in the tasks of *Gramism*.

Article—2. Use of power for securing independence and maintaining India's Sovereign Status.

Conquest of power is the possession of an agency and an apparatus, but possession must be used profitably and productively. Independence of the country is vital for villages, and power acquired by the villages must be availed of to acquire freedom and to free the country from political and economic dependence and subjection. This village power must express the sovereignty of the Indian peoples, and it must organise the sovereign will, sovereign energy and sovereign action of the villages and rural workers for maintaining and consolidating this sovereignty in India and for India in the world. This village power must be used definitely for achieving Sovereign Status for India, that is, it must be used to establish a Sovereign State in India and to attain and maintain recognition of India as a Sovereign State in the world. This is the paramount use of village power and conquest of power by the villages must be directed to this goal.

Article—3. Use of power for safe-guarding Liberty and Democracy.

The object of conquest of power must be clearly understood by the rural workers lest power may be so misused as to divert their sovereignty—the sovereignty of the village and the rural worker—into slavery and to make the power an absolute autocracy. Village power is dedicated to the cause of liberty and democracy and the rural worker must practise and secure liberty and democracy from all open or veiled encroachment and attack. *Gramism* holds liberty and democracy as a sacred trust and as essential to free and harmonious evolution of humanity. Power therefore must be used by villages for constituting and safe-guarding political national and public institutions on the principles of liberty and democracy. Of course, these terms are evolving in meaning and are receiving connotations and interpretations in different countries. For India, liberty and democracy, will be connoted by *Gramism* and interpreted in terms of *Gramism*, because *Gramism* embodies the most perfect democracy of resurrecting village power and constituting a Rural Commonwealth, and the finest and fullest liberty of applying village energy for the rural workers' benefit.

Article—4. Use of power for accomplishing national enlightenment and efficiency, national reconstruction and economic prosperity.

This village power has to be harnessed for concrete results in a host of directions, but generally it must be devoted to spread a vast and comprehensive enlightenment among the Indian peoples. Enlightenment is a very composite term and implies a development and training of intelligence, understanding, criticism, judgment, information, outlook, vision, sympathies and incentives. This enlightenment must be accompanied with efficiency. Efficiency should mean not merely competency and ability, but a sense of duty, a spirit of contributing the maximum not only for individual good but for the collective good, for a common cause, for the commonweal, the village, the locality, the region and the country. Both enlightenment and efficiency should be dedicated to national reconstruction and economic prosper-

riety. Political authority and state-power must inevitably be made instruments for these ends as a part of Gramist policy.

Article—5. Use of power for achieving economic equilibrium and equity.

Village power as the embodiment of *Gramism* must acknowledge the necessity of equilibrium and equity in the economic sphere. The distress and discontent prevailing all over the countryside is due to the ultra over-weightage of money concentration against the rural worker and the urban labourer and wage earner. That weightage must disappear if society in India has to be saved from a crash. The fissures are wide and open and an earthquake is impending. Gramist policy therefore enunciates that economic relations must be based on equity which must supervene every other claim or consideration, and that a fair equilibrium must be restored in the villages and towns between the various classes. *Assimilation on a new basis should be preferred to elimination, unless obstruction makes it necessary and until sabotage makes it inevitable.*

Article—6. Use of legislatures for securing to the village and rural worker self-sufficiency, prosperity and autonomy.

The village has become an uneconomic asset, and the rural worker cannot make his living either in agriculture craft or small trade. The power of the legislatures must be utilised for securing the return of prosperity to the village folk and for restoring the self-sufficiency of the village. The economic power of the village lay in its being a complete self-contained unit, which, even if cut off from everywhere could sustain its civic and economic life without break or collapse. This self-sufficiency was the cause of the survival of the village in the midst of wars and strifes. It is the legal reinforcement of the whole of the autonomy of the village in civil, military, administrative and economic spheres that shall be attained for villages, and there should be village corporations with powers of government as local executive and economic authorities.

Article—7. Use of legislatures for the adjustment of private property with social justice.

This is not a new doctrine at all. There is no justice in the conditions in which in one place there is a thousand needy and hungry people and only one over-rich person and a score of middle-folk competing for fleecing the poor. The happiest position will be a complete elimination of the exploiters—the fleecing class—by such social measures and economic reconstruction that the services rendered by this fleecing class may be discharged by the workers' units. The fleecing class should adapt themselves to this moral position and agree to be the agents of the working class and not their domineering exploiting masters. For such service they may receive fair remuneration. But their monopolist hold must be removed. They must be prepared to help in rebuilding the new corporate and collective economy of the village and the working classes, and to fit themselves in the new structure as social servants with all the share in the social privileges. Any obstruction must be censured and penalised.

Property and personal and domestic possessions still remain as they are vital to the human instinct and human nature and social frame. But the social spirit and sense must be revived and social justice must ordain at least that none who is able and working shall starve and suffer. Social economy must be reconstructed on a just basis and private property must be correlated to the needs and duties of the whole community in villages and towns and the country for common well-being and national power. Legislative measures should be enacted for such regulations.

Article—8. Use of legislatures for securing a fair distribution of the produce and profits of labour, rural as well as urban.

In the existing order, the producer of goods and materials gets the least return. He does get some thing, but just the bare minimum to keep him as a useful producing unit for the benefit of commerce and finance. Labour of every type and class, whether working in a farm or a factory, or a

workshop or a trade shop, or commercial office, should have an equitable share in the profits of production that is, gains of farming, factory, business, commerce or industry. Uneven and unfair distribution of the produce and its profits have resulted in horrible economic inequalities which are at the root of the entire world struggle facing peoples in capitalist—monopoly countries. Legislation should regulate the returns of labour and work in all economic activity which need be regarded as a social and a national asset and not a private affair of individuals for *sheer personal profiteering*.

Article—9. Use of legislatures for securing an equitable allocation of the burdens of taxation and social services.

The whole theory of taxation should have a new orientation. Maintenance of the State or administration for the benefit of a ruling oligarchy or vested interests cannot be the object of taxation. The State must have social cultural economic and defence functions. Administration has to be re-organised for the co-ordinated discharge of these responsibilities. The people have corresponding and responsive duties of labour and contributions towards meeting the costs of these functions. In this arrangement and organisation, the taxation system must be reconsidered and framed afresh to meet the needs duties and services required for the country. The present tax-ratio weighs awfully in favour of the rich and propertied classes and against the poor middle classes and the working masses. There is little possibility of tax-reductions. With increasing national needs as a free country, and better and larger services for the peoples, the contributions from the people shall have to be greater. These contributions should be in labour, materials and cash. The taxation system must provide an equitable allocation of the national burden among each section of the people and different areas of the country. The burden on the upper classes must be proportionate to their stakes and interests, but all taxation should be planned so as to promote increase in incomes wealth and reserves.

Article—10. Concentration on national security and preparedness for defence.

The paramount duty of every State is to ensure national security and complete preparedness for defence. National security and defence preparedness must be planned and co-ordinated, and the energy of the whole country should be concentrated on preserving its territorial integrity its internal order and its sovereign authority unimpaired and unaffected. The doctrine is concentration implying the focussing of the attention and activity of the State and peoples on building up national defence, that is the defence of the country, nationalism, unity, State-organisation, economic fabric and autonomous structure, by the disciplined and organised might of the rural worker millions and village corporations.

Article—11. Collaboration with all persons parties and interests for national reconstruction.

National reconstruction is an all-peoples' work, and all sections and interests should be jointly contributory to this task. Collaboration should be the guiding policy, and those groups who would attempt to frustrate the task of reconstruction or policy of collaboration may take the consequences.

Article—12. Compromise on non-essentials, in matters of day to day administration and community life.

Whatever the purposes or policy or programmes, they exist for the people and have to be operated by the administration in the day to day affairs of administration and the country. Petty questions and disputes, personal and partisan as well as sectional and local—may arise, and have to be settled by the methods of conciliation and compromise. Such questions should never be extended or permitted to influence the general State policy or action. *Gramism* only adheres to its fundamentals, leaving administrative flexibility in operation.

Article—13. Combination with groups and parties for the cause of *Gramism* and the country.

The cause of *Gramism* and the country is supreme, and the interests of the country and *Gramism* which is the synthesis of the reorganisation of India ideologically, spiritually and materially must supervene all other considerations and motives. To further the cause of *Gramism*, it is necessary that there should be a combination with various groups and parties in order to attain the maximum totality of support.

These five *maxims* of collaboration, conciliation, compromise, combination and concentration are veritable truths for the success of *Gramism* and achievement of the Gramist State.

Article—14. Complete elimination of personalism in affairs of State, High Policies and Administration.

Article—15. No deification of any individual or authority.

The influence of personality in public affairs is certainly very great. But *personality* is distinct from *personalism*. Personalism is a mental attitude in public affairs in which personal conceit affects activities. In public affairs or the affairs of a nation, a person, on account of his faith, his tenacity and persistence, his idealism, or his endeavours or enterprize, may become synonymous with a movement or a goal; or a person by sheer power of vision, intellectuality or ability may become symbolical of the mind and aspirations of a people, or a person by the sheer weight and inspiration of genius and character may command the imagination, reason, emotions and allegiance and may rule the hearts of millions. But it is imperative for a people to remember always that a person's ego and the same person's work must be considered quite apart, and the measure of the man is the extent to which the individual may sink his self for a great cause or principle and subordinate his ego to the country's ego. The world has produced rare men of this supreme quality which has made Socrates, Washington,

Lincoln and Lenin the builders of epochs of culture, democracy and human evolution.

There should never be any deification of any person or any authority so as to give that person or authority the feeling of indispensability or the power of divine ordainment. The decline of a peoples' freshness and faith begin when they lethargically and in easy complaisance agree to submit to personal domineering in public affairs, which results from the sedulous reviving of a fear of harm to individuals or sections for disagreement or opposition to the will or wishes of some powerful individual or group and which persists and grows with every tame submission and lame protestation, until the person begins to regard his 'self' as indisputable as the State, like Louis XIV. This is harmful for any free and true democracy. It must be conceded however, that, in politics, legislation, economics, defence, and national affairs, *some* individuals are bound to *excel* others, and by their *worth* and *work* will always be given consideration and deference and may even exercise predominant influence and authority over the popular mind. On occasions of crises or for some concrete task or some decisive act, some individuals may captivate popular imagination and enthusiasm and harness the people's will and energy to some great movement or achievement, but *every insidious attempt to darken and dwarf the mind or will of the people or to suppress its free and collective expression* must be resisted and repelled, and every attempt to substitute personal allegiance, in place of institutional or national allegiance must provoke universal resentment and justify a revolt for the preservation and restoration of the principle of democracy and political economic and social *expression and assertion of the peoples' free and sovereign will.*

Equally important it is to exercise constant vigilance, that in all affairs of State in the moulding or conduct of High Policies and the administrative business, the *personal element is reduced to the minimum*, and the people must cultivate a temperament to put any such person out of count until he realises his fatuity. .

In a nation's affairs what must always count supreme is the principle, the end, the aim, the purpose, the policy; and the person or party or institution must be regarded simply and literally as an agency and an instrument for national achievement.

Gramism has therefore laid these maxims as definite articles of its policy for the State and Indian Nationhood.

Article—16. No persecutions, proscriptions, or penalisations of individuals or groups or associations for reasons of rivalry of party or organisation, or for reasons of differences of opinions or creeds, or for reasons of expressions of discontent, dissatisfaction, criticism or condemnation regarding any individual, or group or organisation, or administration or statutory body or political economic or social conditions, or for reasons of active opposition to State or executive authority, unaccompanied by obstruction or sabotage or force or violence or threat of force or violence, and intended to achieve reform or change, or demonstrate the need for reforms or change, or the disadvantages or injury in respect of any measure or policy.

In politics and public affairs the temperament of jealousy and lust for office and authority becomes so keen as to invert the normal sense of fairness and justice when one's personal position is concerned; and as persons act in groups, it is equally true of party mentality. In a really democratic State, which permits liberty of criticism and freedom of opposition, it must be equally guaranteed that there shall be no open or insidious harm or injury to such individuals. Human nature being what it is, there will be favours and frowns, there will be friends and enemies, adherents and opponents, but all this must conform to the spirit of sportsmanship, and a high code of chivalry and fair play must regulate the conduct of public life and national affairs in India. India cannot countenance the brutalities or inhumana-

nities that have been and are being perpetrated in the name of party or race or state or empire by European countries and Japan.

Gramism has therefore laid down a detailed maxim of policy in this article to eliminate all possible personal injury for the persuit of opinions or courage of convictions.

Article—17. Security of person and property according to Law.

Article—18. No confiscation of property except for treason to the State and the Nation.

Law is a mirror of social trends and political action and economic exigencies. Law must reflect changes and ordain changes. Law must secure the person and property of every individual in the country. But law may determine the extent of individual property or income and qualify the security of the person of the individual to the extent he or she harmonises with the common-weal of the whole peoples and the country.

Law should provide for specific penalties and procedure for persons whose activities may be found to be treasonable, and treason must mean any act which may adversely affect the unity, integrity, solidarity and sovereignty of India, or the effectiveness of the authority of the State or the political system or the economic order. Treason is external and internal. It may be assisting in foreign aggression or penetration whether militarist or propagandist. It may be assisting in disrupting the government or sabotaging industry finance or transport. The law of treason according to *Gramism* shall have to be codified in terms of Gramist Synthesis and the Gramist Structure of socio-economic polity as may be evolved and established.

Article—19. Taxation of property and incomes for the needs of the country, society and the State.

The State requirements may be limited to the normal supply of administrative costs; but society needs cultural and economic reorganisation and India needs exceptional

intensive, comprehensive reconstruction and defence measures. The system of taxation of property and incomes must be planned to respond to these manifold needs, subject to two cardinal principles that the normal and economic resiliency of the people is maintained unimpaired and even magnified, and the total wealth of the country is increased. The economists and experts under *Gramism* will have to found a varied tax system to ensure the nation's power and people's prosperity, taking their lessons particularly from Soviet Russia as also the Totalitarian States—Germany and Italy—and even democratic States like the United States, France and Britain and Czechoslovakia of Masaryk and Denmark and Sweden, and particularly Turkey.

Article—20. Social compensation for deprivation of property or rights or incomes.

Gramism contemplates the eventuality of deprivation of property or rights or incomes in some cases. Both the two ways—utter confiscation or compensation of the capitalist type—are rejected. *Gramism* would seek to ensure the total good by causing the minimum of injury to a person or a class. *Gramism* would give compensation but it would be *social compensation* and this social compensation would be measured according to the extent of deprivation, the type of deprivation, the effects of deprivation, and the social group, domestic needs, family obligations and living standards of the persons whose interests are to be availed of for the village the region or the country or national policies or emergencies or necessities. This may be quite less than what a party may expect, but may be much more than the acknowledged average or even maximum for the party's required needs or services.

Article—21. Securing to labour the rights to a fair return for work—measured according to and by the standards of efficiency, quantity, quality and necessity—and participation in profits.

Work must be valued only by the criterion of efficiency in quantity and quality. A workman's wages must be based

on minimum necessity plus efficiency but they cannot be uniform or universal. They will vary according to local conditions and environments, as also according to trades or different industries. And in large scale enterprises, profit sharing should be a practicable ideal, as has been proved by the House of Tatas.

Article—22. Securing to labour a share in representation in legislatures in proportion to their number and total value of their production, and partial participation in management to promote self-esteem among labour and secure prosperity for the concern.

Workers contribute to the total wealth and income of the whole country. They are entitled to a share in the legislative system as producers of wealth and their share should be in proportion to the wealth they produce to the general wealth produced in the whole country. Factory workshop and other urban labour cannot expect a dominating position in the State. *Gramism* intends to support the working class to get the best out of their labour and desires to give the worker a new dignity and responsibility by promoting participation by way of consultation and supervisory checks in the management of business or industry with a view to promote the prosperity of the concern, but subject always to the needs of the country, and the discipline efficiency and good administration of the concern. And therefore *Gramism* also expects a moral duty and ethical obligation from the working class that they shall give the best of its conscience quality and energy in building up the new Economic Order and the Gramist Synthesis.

Article—23. Securing to labour the rights of public amenities and social services from their employers.

Gramism will ensure that the employers of labour shall contribute definitely to the housing, lighting, education, amusements, and health and fitness of the working class. Their charges may be shared by the industry and the trade

with the local authority if it is financially prosperous, and the State. So long as there is private profiteering, the State cannot undertake the social costs of good labour for benefiting financiers and industrialists. *Gramism* will help to promote legislation for securing these rights and services.

Article—24. Conscription of labour for national reconstruction and of national security in case of external aggression or internal turmoil.

The vital dangers to the country are invasion or insurrection. It is the duty of labour to offer its best to the country in such crisis. National reconstruction in a State which acknowledges economic equity and social justice is the task of labour and finance with the aid of experts and directives. Labour should cheerfully help in such reconstruction which must be regulated on a fair basis of minimum wages, interests, profits, and surplus-sharing, after allocation of proper depreciation funds and reserves and workers benefit schemes. .

Article—25. Nationalism of armaments, transports and communications.

Armaments' manufacture is an industry which when pursued for finance profiteering, becomes an evil. Its sole function is helping the nation to defend itself, its freedom, its honour and its industry. Similarly transport—whether railway, roadway, waterway or airway—is an asset of the whole nation, and cannot be left to the exclusive profit monopoly of the financier. Communications, that is telegraphs, telephones, cables and broad-casting cannot also be a private concern. These are basic chains in the defence of the State, and the State is entitled to influence, regulate, control and direct all these interests. .

Nationalisation in the sense of complete ownership of State may not be immediately practicable and expedient. But nationalisation in the sense of State-authority and State-share, control and direction must prevail.

Article—26. Militarisation of the Rural peoples.

The entire rural peoples from whom the pre-British rulers drew their million hosts and whom British authority has demilitarised after 1857 must be wholly remilitarised, and no effort is too great nor any cost too heavy for the regeneration of the manliness and might of the Indian peoples. The message of manliness discipline and service of the great teachers and patriots must be activated by a thorough militarisation of all the Indian peoples fully trained and politically instructed for the common cause of the country's security and sovereignty and the peoples' polity, power and prosperity and the common heritage of Indian nationalism and the Gramist Synthesis for national regeneration and renaissance.

Article—27. Equipment of the villages for local protection, regional security and national defence.

All the seven hundred and fifty thousand villages must be reorganised under a co-ordinated defence plan. Every village must be so trained and equipped as to be a base of resource and reserve for materials and forces. Villages should be so co-ordinated as to form cohesive groups for preserving internal tranquillity and autonomous defence even in the crisis of isolation. The training and equipment must be dominated by the sole objective of National Defence and the single purpose of the security of the integrity, sovereignty and unity of India and the Gramist State—the SOCOVIREIN.

Article—28. Impregnability of aerial and naval defence.

The Air Defence of India must be so devised as to make India immune from the effects and consequences of air attacks. National Defence must be so planned as to make the shores of India unapproachable for any enemy landing. Impregnability in air and sea must be the cardinal policy of an independent India.

Article—29. Supreme civil control over all defence forces.

India must beware of military dictatorships and military domination. Her old history is the evidence of this evil and the Chinese catastrophe after Sun Yat Sen's Republic, of

disputing war lords in provinces—defying Central Unity and Power, until the genius and persistence of Marshall Chiang Kai Shaik welded the Kumintang, and the Japanese aggression provoked and inspired a common unity of aim and action, is the modern lesson to India. Indian peoples must never permit the least interference of the military, naval or aerial forces in the politics or government or civil administration or finance or industry. The domination of the Japanese militarists in the domestic politics and economic and foreign policies of the State, that hastened the cruel rape of Korea, Manchuria and China, which aims at spreading itself towards Siam and India and which keeps the masses of Japan in social and economic helotry for the myth of a Japanese supremacy as a divine nation, must be the supreme lesson for India. Indian peoples must make it an article of their faith and their constitution that the defence forces shall be subject wholly and absolutely to the civil control of the Supreme Legislature and Executive of India.

Article—30. State control of production and distribution.

The principal idea is self sufficiency and adequate supply of needs and materials to all peoples. It is necessary hence that production must be planned and distribution regulated in order that there are least surfeits and no shortages.

Article—31. State control of public utility services.

All public utility services—particularly electricity and irrigation and communication—must be controlled by the State. These services must be regarded as the asset of the nation and the trust of the country. They cannot be left to the caprices and selfishness of profiteers or partisan mischief-makers.

Article—32. State control of foreign trade.

Foreign trade is the instrument of enrichment as also a medium of foreign dependence. Tariffs cause indiscriminate animosities with nations and foreign States. Treaties even may only be a partial solvent. Barter may bring with it

the curse of frozen-credits abroad and may make a country an economic vassal. Free and uncontrolled foreign trade may mean exchange crisis and financial dislocation and internal economic crisis. Foreign trade therefore must be regulated by the State according to the needs of the whole country and no private trade should be permitted to play with prices or to pilfer Indian commodities and produce for benefiting individuals at the cost of the whole nation and the country.

Article—33. State control of banking, exchange, currency, insurance, aviation and shipping.

The State cannot allow manipulation in exchange or banking or currency for private capitalistic ends. Banking currency and exchange are closely inter-related and should be under the single control of the State. The entire banking organisation in India from the village money-lender to the mighty Sharaf (Shroff), and the small co-operative to the huge joint stock bank, must be reorganised and inter-linked to form a stable and powerful financial system for the financing of the village, agriculture, crafts, industry, and trade,—and social undertakings as housing, or state enterprises like irrigation, road-ways, water-ways, or other national needs and emergencies, as may arise. Insurance must also be controlled by the State on a comprehensive plan of life, home, health, education and social liability of industries under a large corporation of which all companies may be joint owners under a centralised direction. The State must make insurance compulsory and the State must also plan cattle and agricultural insurance for each village.

Aviation and shipping, the ancient and modern means of commerce and communications should be regulated and controlled by the State very severely in the interests of the whole country.

Article—34. State control of coal, electricity, steel, chemicals, oil and grain reserves.

Article—35. State control of heavy industries and key industries.

These materials and industries constitute the basic factors in the economic life of the country and have their bearing on its political stability and international security. They are vital for defence and they must be subjected to State control.

Article—36. Freedom of opinion expression and association.

Article—37. Freedom of press, platform and propaganda.

Article—38. Restriction and suppression of any activity, inimical to the political solidarity, national unity, economic security, integrity and sovereignty of the country.

Article—39. Restriction and suppression of sabotage or any activity obstructive to the operation of the principles of democracy, autonomy, self-sufficiency, self-government and co-operativism, collectivism, corporationism and *Village Power*.

A country must preserve liberty as a right and duty which it must safeguard in its constitution and maintain fearlessly. Liberty can never be foresworn. The danger to liberty has grown with the authoritarian conception of State, and the liberty of the Press has been affected by advertising finance. Professor Lasky in his book "Liberty in the Modern State" and Mr. Wickham Stead in his book "The Press" have superbly discussed the problem "Civil Liberty and Freedom of the Press" and we in India and the East should be forewarned and be organised to assert the inherent rights of freedom of the press and civil liberty.

The right of civil liberty and freedom of the press is an absolute right and cannot be qualified except for public good. But public good is a broad conception and becomes interpretable. Nazism and Fascism and Sovietism may believe that there is no public good except through the enforcement of their doctrines. They have a right to believe so, but they prevent any public expression of disagreement

or opposition, and that is a denial of liberty according to the democratic conception of public freedom. *Gramism* may proclaim and assert that it is the sum total of public good for India, but it may not legally prevent any person or group from differing from Gramism. Public disagreement and opposition in respect of public affairs is necessary to keep the people thinking freely and judging fully on a varied material of opinions and facts. *Gramism* should secure and protect public liberty and freedom of press and platform association and propaganda. But there are moral limitations for the exercise of the right of liberty. The individual has the law of liberty for his protection. Similarly the country and the State have a right to protection. The same wholesome principle which gives an individual the right to protection and defence of person honour and property must endow the nation and the State with the duty and power of protecting and defending its polity and economic structure, its sovereign honour and its physical body—the country. Security of public morals needs equal protection.

In normal times the determination of the abuse of liberty should be left to enlightened public conscience and opinion for condemnation, and the decision in the matter of abuse and perversion of liberty should be left to courts. The Common Law of Great Britain offers a healthy guide but the peculiar conditions of India and the dominant needs of rebuilding the corporate political military economic and administrative life of the Indian peoples may require appropriate adjustments.

Keeping in view "public good and public morals" as the basis of public law, Indian Jurists, should devise a wise law of treason to protect the State and the society as may be constituted. Such a law should take into consideration the safety and stability of the institutions of the country and the State. But even such a law cannot be comprehensive. Crises and emergencies may necessitate exceptional control and restrictions, and individuals must consider it a duty to acknowledge the value of such restrictions, and accept the limitations with good grace and assist in their operation

with good will. It is the duty of the people to support the National State and the economic order *they* have established and sanctioned, and prevent by their universal will and common action any danger to their security.

In all these methods of public good, '*national interest*' must prevail. The opinion of the majority and the will of the people must express from time to time their approval or disapprobation of policies and measures. Under *Gramism*, the *will of the villages*, expressed through universal suffrage by the autonomous village units is the sovereign will of the country, and must influence measures, legislation and administrative action. This *Gramist Will* should be synonymous with the national will of India and should be reflected in the law ensuring liberty and security. Public liberty must synchronise with national security and *Gramism* shall both preserve this liberty and organise this security. But in the Gramist State, apart from common liberty there may arise local conditions or there may be localities requiring specific limitations and restrictions to liberty. This must be left to the discretion of the autonomous units, subject to revision and ratification or rejection by the regional authorities. This may be necessary, because one type of activity may have very serious consequences in one area and may be entirely ineffectual elsewhere.

The main limitations to liberty will be in respect of the whole country. No activity, tending to disruption of the unity of the country or its dismemberment or affecting its Sovereign Status or the strength, cohesion and solidarity of the Supreme Central Executive and its Powers and Authority can be permitted. The political solidarity, national unity, economic security, integrity and sovereignty, of the country must constitute the highest morality calling for the initiative, energy, discipline, service, co-operation, and sacrifice of all people for their preservation. Any limitations of liberty in this respect are fundamental limitations of the first order. The next limitations refer to activities which may corrode the beliefs and causes enshrining the new nationhood in India. These prime

beliefs are the principles of democracy, autonomy, self-sufficiency, self-government, co-operativism, collectivism corporationism and *village power*, as the essentials of a great and powerful India. They are the basic limitations of the second order. The next limitations refer to any activity which may menace unity, nationalism, *Gramism* and the Indian Rural Commonwealth which are basic to Indian progress and prosperity, prestige and power; and they must be regarded as the ultimate limitations of the supreme order.

Liberty in *Gramism* is universal, with freedom to criticise and condemn and oppose any individual institution or administration or legislation, subject to the supremacy of the Gramist Synthesis and the free and democratic Indian National State constituted as the SOCOVIREIN.

Article—41. State action for home industry and crafts.

Article—42. State action for cultivators and craftsmen to secure economic efficiency.

The development of economic life is the prime duty of the State and is a basic function with *Gramism*. Home Industry and crafts have to be investigated, organised and popularised. Their production has to be co-ordinated and regulated and their sales and marketing have to be systematised. Cultivators and craftsmen must be competent. They must be eager and industrious. They must be well trained and well equipped. Cultivators must be thoroughly organised in co-operatives and collectives, and craftsmen must have their guilds. Villages must have their corporations. All this cannot be done by merely patronisation or sympathy. Advice and aid only cannot avail. In addition, there must be planned direction, supervision and control as a part of State action for securing the maximum economic power of the whole country to ensure the prosperity and reserves of the Indian peoples.

Article—43. State aid to backward peoples for education and national service training.

Certain sections of the community, particularly the Musalmans, have remained indifferent to the benefits of education and public services. Among Hindus, also, large sections and specially the 'Harijans' have suffered neglect. *Gramism* must provide ample means for their advancement and equipment for their contribution to the well-being and power of the country. They on their part must tender their best and work their most for their country and they must receive impartially and wholly, from the state, all benefits of education, training, equipment, organisation and social amenities and public services.

Article—44. Complete equality in law of all sections, and universal citizenship of Indians without distinction of class or race or creed or religion.

In Law there shall be no inequalities and no privileges. Indian citizenship will be the universal prerogative of every Indian whatsoever the caste or religion or class or race. The rights and responsibilities of citizenship will be universal; and the State under *Gramism* will ordain the general and special duties of the nation and citizens according to their avocations, qualifications and usefulness and loyalties.

Article—45. All foreigners within India shall be subject to the laws of India and no foreigner shall have any right or privilege in excess of the rights of an Indian citizen; and no foreigner residing in India shall be allowed or permitted to influence, by propaganda or through trade, the internal affairs of the State, or interfere with or intrigue about, the political life or economic order of India; and no foreigner or foreign interest, individual or corporation, shall have any right in industry or trade or business or land except under license with the permission of the State, and may be given permission subject to reservations and limitations and conditions as may be necessary and expedient.

The status of foreigners will be distinctly laid down under *Gramism*. There shall never be any extra-territorial rights nor any special privileges for non-Indians whether they are of Asia or Europe or other countries. There cannot be any discrimination among foreigners of one country and foreigners of another country except in case of discrimination against India or Indians in that particular country. The principle of reciprocity is subject to the fundamental axiom of "India for the Indians". The Law of naturalisation will have to be made more stringent and special regulations should control the entry, activities and exit of foreigners. The rights of foreigners in respect of trade, or founding or participating in any industry or a commercial company or corporation, or ownership of land or property, will be carefully detailed, and all foreigners shall be subject to Indian Law and authority of the Indian Government. A Special Alien Law will be devised by Indian Jurists and Economists and in conformity with justice and equity subject to the supremacy of *Gramism* and the security of the State and the complete independence and full sovereignty of India. Any foreigner, being in India, and interfering in the internal affairs of India, shall be liable to deportation without notice, and if his activities are treasonable, as provoking civil strife, dissensions or disruptions of authority, or insurrection, or facilitating foreign intervention or aggression, he shall be liable to the penalty of death and confiscation of estate like any Indian.

Article—46. Adequate remuneration and compensation to the services of the State.

Public services in India are heavily overpaid at the top and terribly underpaid at the bottom. The maximum for ordinary public services may not be more than one thousand pounds per annum. The minimum cannot be less than fifty pounds per annum. The services of best experts can be available within the maximum scale. The minimum scale and maximum measure entail the minimum qualifications and maximum utility. The motive in seeking public employment shall not be an easy berth and a stream of perquisi-

tes. Public servants shall not be parasites. Public servants shall have to prove their "productivity" and their "worth" measured by the contribution they make in the discharge of their duties to the manifold work of cultural and socio-economic reconstruction and political solidarity and nation-building. Mere examinations will not be the test for entry nor will a mechanical performance of routine be the test for their retention or promotion. Public service must entail stability of employment, prospects for emoluments and prizes for exceptional calibre and work, and secure provision also for the education of children, decent housing and widow's pension. But this cannot mean more pay and less task or same work. *Gramism* means newer and heavier tasks, ample training and equipment, less officialdom and more of fraternalisation, enough pay and fair compensations. *Gramism* entails that public servants shall be less authority-conscious and shall have the 'mission-complex' and the creative urge and service, spirit and sacrifice-ideal and not the profiteer mentality, in order to fulfil the Gramist Synthesis.

Article—47. No preferences or partisanship or party patronage in the matters of public services—administrative, defence, social, economic, diplomatic, technical and others, whether for recruitment, reward or advancement, retirement, pension or gratuity or compensation, or punishments or penalties, which shall be on the basis of merit, efficiency and industry alone, irrespective of class, creed or community.

Gramism should ensure the purity of the public services—national, technical, provincial, regional or local or rural, in the conduct of the business of the State, the institutions and departments of the State. *Gramism* wishes to minimise favouritism and eliminate incompetency and indolence. *Gramism* desires to seek and secure merit efficiency and industry for its tasks in the State. It is against every type of party-patronage or group-partisanship or communal

preferences. *Gramism* desires a dynamic public service working with speed enthusiasm and ruthless energy to accomplish within a decade the work of a generation and within one generation the task of a century. *Gramism* therefore must be candid and emphatic in enforcing the rigorous observation of "*Take the fit, Test the fit, and Keep the fit,*" principle. *Gramism* will not permit the public services to be like a Panjra Pole (cattle infirmary) or an institution of drones who think only of the pay-bill on the first of each month and collection of the private tribute of speculation and nepotism. *Gramism* will enforce impartial punishments and heavy penalties for non-fulfilment of allotted tasks. *Gramism* in enforcing purity will ensure the services permanence and prosperity, prizes and penalties.

Article—48. Complete detachment of services of State from any politics or political movement or public agitation.

Article—49. Complete independence of services of State from any influence or interference of any person or party in the matter of the discharge of their duties functions and responsibilities.

Gramism emphasises purity, and therefore public services must be kept quite free of any partisanship in political affairs or public questions. The public services must be immune from all political influence or personal domination or any party authority. *Gramism* envisages the possibilities of services being party-ridden as a calamity which may cause disruption and chaos, and therefore *Gramism* wishes to insist and persist that for no conceivable cause and under no imaginable circumstances can the public services at any time be made creatures of politics. The public services belong to no party or group, whosoever may be in authority or power. The public services belong to the country and the nation as a whole, and it is their task to resist and oppose any weakening or violation of these principles. The public services should regard the State, the Sovereignty of India, the Unity of Indian Peoples and the Territorial

Integrity of India and Economic and Defence Power of the whole country, as a sacred trust for the administration, in the various departmental tasks, and must regard the Rule of Law, political stability, administrative cohesion and economic order, as a paramount duty, and consider socio-economic reconstruction and nation-building as a mission. The services serve India and are above prejudices and parties or personages. This is the axiom of *Gramism* for services.

Article—50. Mass education disciplining and preparation for acquiring using and maintaining *Gramism*, national freedom, national unity, national strength and national prosperity.

The reality for nation building is mass education. It means instruction of the masses in the art of organisation and corporate action. It necessitates personal and collective discipline for corporate and national duties. It means training and preparing the peoples for great tasks and collective achievements and national reconstruction. The object of such mass education is to make the masses conscious of their Right and Might to make and preserve a free and prosperous United Indian Nation and State.

Article—51. Enlightenment, efficiency, equipment and enrichment of the villages and rural worker millions.

The villages are the pivotal force of the Gramist Synthesis, and the rural worker is the energy of the Gramist Order. Consequently they must be enlightened, that is fully instructed and well informed. They must also be efficient or competent in their work and capable for corporate life and collective action. They must have necessary equipment for the maximum utilisation of their energy, and their work must secure their enrichment and prosperity. *Gramism* ordains this as a prime duty of the State, the services, the public institutions and village peoples. The village peoples must claim this as an inherent right along with their

autonomy and self-sufficiency, and the village peoples must endeavour and organise and unite and sacrifice to attain this fulfilment.

Article—52. Complete reconstruction of village life *e.g.*, re-organisation of agriculture, social crafts, irrigation, amusements, sports, sanitation and rural housing, conversion of villages into garden towns and grain factories and cultural units and autonomous corporations.

The policy laid out in this article is clear. The entire village life is to be reorganised. The primary essential is reorganisation of agriculture in its produce, quality, value and costs and returns by planning crops and collective farming and co-operative purchases and sales of peasants' and farm necessities. The crafts necessary for village society—carpentry, masonry, smithy, leather-works, home spinning and weaving—must be properly trained and organised to fit in the new scheme of efficiency and self-sufficiency and collective local, regional and national life. Irrigation must be vastly undertaken with local and regional canals, bores and artesian wells, and there must be a perennial supply of water for farming as well as domestic use. Village life must be enlivened and amusements must be organised to suit village folk. The sanitation of the village and the health of the village peoples must be established anew, and there must be a vast plan of rural housing and village rebuilding for all the seven hundred and fifty thousand villages in India. The villages cannot remain the hopeless and dull places they are at present. They must be reconstructed as small garden towns and each village must plan its agriculture as a grain factory in accord with the regional plan and national policy. Villages must be re-established in their ancient traditions of corporate life and must be replaced on the noble moral pedestal from which they have fallen. The villages must be recreated as the embodiment of ethical values and centres of culture, and their freedom initiative and self power and pride must be recreated and reconstructed in making them autonomous

administrative corporations and institutions of social harmony, political stability, economic power and defence strength.

Article—53. *Gramism* assures to youth, heroism and love and romance, adventure and enterprise, and instruction and training in strength, restraint, discipline, initiative, and judgment and industry and employment and social commonweal.

The Gramist Synthesis has a special appeal, opportunity and place for youth, women and citizens of India. Youth has aspirations, imagination and exuberance. *Gramism* wishes to fill the mind and heart of youth—boys and girls— young men and maidens—with a faith and an endeavour, a burning zeal and a ceaseless striving for concrete objectives. *Gramism* aims at giving patriotism a local colour and a national goal, and seeks to awaken among youth the spirit of chivalry which inspires courage and sacrifice and daring and adventure, and a lofty sense of justice and right, and inspires deeds of heroism, co-operative work, the spirit of service, collective action, and impels sacrifice. *Gramism* desires to convert the village into a field of new national romance and adventure, which can fire the fancy of youth for enterprise and action. *Gramism* will plan the training of youth in occupational efficiency social usefulness and corporate activities for national strength and power.

Article—54. *Gramism* assures to women education and emancipation, and the privilege of enlightening and strengthening the home and the hearth, the village and the father-land, with their art, culture, courage and sacrifice, devotion to country and loyalty to the cause of *Gramism*.

Gramism desires to endow the women of India with a special mission of culture. The greatness of India will be the greatness of its women, and the women of India shall become the flower of humanity and the active-force of

progress for truth, honour, service, sacrifice, justice, co-operation, order and peace. The women of the working class shall be lifted out from the slough of debasement and despair, narrow prejudices and superstitions, and instructed in fine arts and music, ethics and domestic crafts to make the home a haven of bliss and joy. The women shall regulate health and sanitation and share in sports and amusements. *Gramism* desires to give the women of the village the training and mind which will enable the village women-folk to keep the village community fit and bright and active in the service of the village. The women are the symbols of self-less service and fidelity and it is the women-folk of the villages who will keep the fires of sacrifice and devotion burning for the cause of the country and *Gramism*. The women of India will be the keepers of the conscience of the United Indian Nation and the inspiration of morals and honour and chivalry. *Gramism* gives womanhood the prime place in the renaissance and reconstruction of villages and the tasks of nation-building and freedom.

Article—55. *Gramism* assures to citizens the prerogative of energising and organising the village community, and constructing and conserving the life and power of the country, and the glory of working, for achieving and preserving prosperity, justice, freedom and democracy and the Gramist Synthesis.

Gramism has a universal appeal to the citizenship of all India. It makes no exceptions and confers no favours. It declares for men and women of every class and creed the supremacy of the Gramist Synthesis as the saviour of Indian morals and civilization, and as the basic builder of the might of a new India. It makes 'Village Re-making' the pivot of nation building and it seeks the remoulding and re-organising of the political, moral, social and economic life of the Indian peoples. *Gramism* declares the message that India must be a power and a force, and entrusts citizenship with the four-fold duties of securing prosperity for the

people, justice for all sections and individuals, freedom for the country, and real peoples' democracy for and within the State and institutions of State.

Article—56. *Gramism* assures to village teachers and village officers and village services special consideration, training and opportunities for betterment and equipment, for services to the village community and country.

Gramism evolves round the village, and as village-remaking is the fulcrum for national reconstruction and the Gramist State, it is necessary that village teachers and village officers and village servants should be specially trained and equipped and inspired for their new tasks under *Gramism*. Their functions will be village-remaking and not power-seeking with revenue and police superiors. They will require to operate the powers of autonomous villages with impartiality and efficiency. They will form a small government by themselves in the vast scheme of Gramist Synthesis, Unity and Power. They will be required to possess administrative capacity and diplomatic skill. They will need organising ability and personal efficiency of a high order. They will require new standards of public conduct and new code of public duties for the corporate and collective life of the village people as a political entity, administrative unit, economic factor and a defence base. *Gramism* therefore designs to plan the hierarchy of village services so as to assure security and prosperity and ample scope for initiative and enterprise, and full responsibility for results with adequate resources for their work and remuneration for their employment.

Article—57. *Gramism* assures to every officer—subordinate high or low—that it has no quarrel with individuals or services, and that it shall ensure its protection to the fit and loyal, and advancement to the efficient in the Gramist Order.

Gramism wishes to make it clear to the various grades of public services that under the Gramist State their interests will be safe consistently with the scheme of *Gramism*, and that all who care to work for the Gramist Synthesis and fit in this New Order with loyalty and efficiency will be welcome to advancement, as they can with their experience by adapting their minds to the new ideal help extensively in the Gramist fulfilment.

Article—58. *Gramism* assures to every rural worker the rights to his soil and the profits of his labour, rational taxation and fair contribution to the social fund and national security.

The cause of the Rural Worker is supreme with *Gramism*. *Gramism* shall ensure an equitable tax system in place of what at present bears lightly on the rich and harshly on the village. *Gramism* enjoins on the Rural Worker solemn duties and collective functions for the village and the country, and expects every rural worker to make his special contribution to the social fund for the social services and national security for defence.

Article—59. *Gramism* assures to every citizen and industrial worker or wage earner, rural or urban, cultural and social services.

Gramism in ordaining a universal citizenship also desires that the benefits of cultural and social services shall be universal to all people in India, and the rich shall contribute to this universal provision. There may be no preventive to private institutions in conformity with *Gramism*, but opportunities for education and technical and scientific knowledge and training must be available to every citizen, and progressively it must be free in the whole of India. Riches and means cannot have preferable acquisition of knowledge or arts or crafts on account of their resources. The spirit of *Gramism* necessitates that every Gramist Citizen must have the highest efficiency and fullest opportunity. This must be applicable to health services and medical relief also. The poorest must have the best medical aid and

the rich must pay for all this by considering it to be the duty of wealth. If they do not care to imbibe this spirit and act on this principle, *Gramism* will not hesitate at compulsion.

Article—60. Gramism warns every element in India, every person, group, class or community against any intent expression or act which directly or indirectly may tend to dismember the country or disintegrate the unity of India or demean the Sovereignty of India or dislocate the Village Power or hegemony and the Rural Commonwealth.

The Gramist Synthesis necessitates internal solidarity and national security. The solidarity of the country can be undermined in many ways. None should behave in any way which may prejudice this national solidarity and security. All separatist tendencies, provincialisms and linguistics and communalisms are heinous to true nationalism of United India. Any suggestion for dividing the political entity of the country, like ulsterisation, must be treated as poisonous. Any design, which, under any guise, seeks to disintegrate the fundamental unity of India is highly injurious to India. Any attempt to attack the principle of *Village Power* and the conception and function of State based on village hegemony, self-sufficiency, authority, autonomy, and a confederation of autonomous village corporations is tantamount to deprivation of the village of its inherent rights, powers and duties, and must be resisted defeated and annihilated. Any plan which for any plea whatever, in any way derogates from the Sovereignty of India, not merely in the legal or technical sense, but in the sense of fullness of authority and power to enforce the Sovereign Will of India in all internal or external affairs, must be treated as treason to the nation. *Gramism* therefore in this article sounds a definite warning against all such possibilities.

Article—61. Gramism warns any foreign power or country or their nationals or agents against any interference in the internal affairs of India.

This article is essential in view of the tragic happenings in China and Spain and the Nazi-Fascist intrigues in Europe and Africa, United States and the South American Republics. "*Hands off India*" must be the inflexible doctrine of all India. No vested interest should be permitted any plea or privilege to claim any aid or advice from any foreign state or institution in the internal affairs of India. British intercession in Czechoslovakia is an example of strangulation of an independent state and people. Let Indians seek their own settlement of their own differences and disputes. But the moment any Indian seeks outside aid, he is a traitor, and any external institution authority or state which chooses to intercede officially or unofficially, secretly or publicly, must be treated as an invader, against whom the whole of India should unite in will and effort and sacrifice for rejecting resisting and repelling such pretensions and such interference and for vanquishing such a power.

Article—62. *Gramism* warns every person and every country or State against any act or proceeding affecting adversely the Sovereignty Unity and Integrity of India as an independent State.

India, which claims *complete national independence* desires to live in amity and peace with her neighbours and friends, but it must be determined not to permit its independence to depend on the favour or grace of any power. It must jealously and zealously secure its sovereignty authority and power against any dilution or diminution. India must safeguard its territorial integrity and political unity with all her resources and energy. *Gramism* enunciates this doctrine of free and full sovereignty for India in view of the aggressive encroachments on national interests, economic life and territories by imperialist powers like Japan, Germany, France, Britain and Italy. *Gramism*, therefore, designs a complete organisation for the security of the sovereignty of the Indian peoples and the Indian National State—"the *SOCOVIREIN*."

Article—63. *Gramism* warns every country and State against any commercial penetration, political intercession, or military naval or aerial interference or aggression, in or against India, and her frontiers or border states.

This is a corollary to the maxims in the preceding article. Commercial privileges are claimed after a trade drive backed up by force and financial jugglery. Similarly, political intercession is offered to parties as support for installing them in seats of authority. Such parties cannot be any thing more than creatures and tools of the interceding power. There may further be actual naval, military or aerial threat or aggression. All this must be resisted not merely in respect of India, but on her frontiers, and in case of her border states also. Any interference or aggression in Afganistan, Iran, Arabia, China, Burma, Ceylon and Siam is a challenge to India and must be opposed and fought out with determination and sacrifice and persistence.

Article—64. *Gramism* warns every person or institution against any disruption of the administrative authority or economic life in a National Indian Government, established and conducted on the basis of National Freedom, Economic Equity, Peoples Democracy and the Rural Commonwealth.

Internal stability is essential for working out the entire Gramist Synthesis. This stability has threefold aspects—political, economic and administrative. Any thing that disrupts the political order or the economic structure or administrative system endangers this stability. *Gramism* therefore, ordains that for the establishment, existence, operation, preservation and power of the *Gramist State* by the peoples of India based on freedom, equity, democracy and rural commonwealth, that is, based on the principle of national independence, and political democratic institutions, and constructed of the heirarchy of autonomous village authorities and constituted of the hegemony of village economic corporations—no person or institution

shall act in any way which may disrupt this national stability. This maxim is essential for securing the State, built on the supremacy of the rural worker and village power and the efficiency and self-sufficiency of the whole peoples, and for the authority and prestige of this Indian National State.

Article—65. *Gramism* declares non-aggression, and proclaims peace, and international relationship based on equality of status, and not on racial pride or power or political or territorial ambition or economic exploitation.

This maxim is a maxim of peace, harmony and collaboration for accomplishing an equitable world order, in which civilisation is secured and culture is preserved, as a progressive force, and science is utilised for increasing human happiness instead of being the evil agent of cruelty and brutality. *Gramism* expresses itself clearly against all racial pretensions and arrogance for aggrandisement. *Gramism* declares itself unequivocally against all exploitation and domination of class by class or one country by another country or by one race or religion over other races or peoples. *Gramism* has no quarrel with any people or country. *Gramism* is committed to non-aggression. *Gramism* stands absolutely for peace and security of India and other countries and Gramist Action shall be co-ordinated for non-aggression and peace against pillage of nations and rape of countries. Gramist Action will be emphatic and energetic in defence of its own Synthesis and State—S O C O-VER I E N.

These are the Sixty Five Articles of Policy which *Gramism* declares as the guide to the operation of its State in India. The peoples of India shall *judge* their governing authorities through the test of these well planned policies which have a paramount value and indisputable worth for guiding India on to her destiny as a world power, living in peace but vigilantly maintaining its security and sovereignty.

PART III

GRAMISM

HAS ITS PROGRAMME

GRAMISM HAS ITS PROGRAMME

A Constructive Force

GRAMISM is a constructive force, and *Gramism* has a well considered programme and concrete ideas and plans for building the *new life* of Indian peoples.

This Gramist Programme is divided into separate sections. The first section deals with general items. The second section deals with the special tasks of *Gramism* for national heavy industries and national economic re-construction. The third section deals with VILLAGE RE-MAKING.

All about the *New Village*—autonomous village corporations confederated into the Sovereign Rural Commonwealth, and “*What a Gramist Government May Do*” detailing the administrative, economic, educational and defence programme that *Gramism* aspires to achieve for India is contained in Parts IV and V.

The various items of this Programme in these Parts are *outlined only*, to enable a comprehensive conception of the national tasks which Gramism seeks to accomplish by its fulfilment, for the “SOCOVEREIN”—the Gramist State—it seeks to establish.

I. GENERAL PROGRAMME

Gramist Organisation

Part I.—Completion of the organisation of Gramist Village Unions and their co-ordination into groups, areas and regions of Gramist Circle, Tehsil, Taluka, District and Divisional Gramist Unions and their incorporation into the All India Rural, Confederation, and their constitution which shall be called Organic Law of the Rural Commonwealth of India.

Gramism has to be included and organised into an active body for fulfilling its faith and accomplishing its entire synthesis. This organisation cannot remain local. It has to be a network with graded authority and interlinking units in a spiral form with the village as the pillar and seven lakhs of villages as the vast basic foundation and its local, areal, regional and central units as the framework, and the different executives as the operating mechanism, working out rhythmically and effectually the supreme tasks of *Gramism* for India. The Gramist Organisation must be, therefore, a machinery and a system, which can smoothly and quickly be capable of flexibility and progressive continuity, with a perfect balance and assured stability—sure of its strength and certain of its power—in emergencies and adversities.

The details of the framework can be prepared after the progress of the initial stages of instilling *Gramism*, and establishment of Gramist centres in various parts of the country in skeleton. It will be shaped as a unitary institution, with autonomous and associated units of a single corporate body under a supreme command with regional directives and areal and local executives as a part of the rural system of all India. A constitution demarking the rights, functions, powers, responsibilities, duties and authorities of the various parts of the system, shall be evolved in due conformity with its development in two to five years. The whole body of such regulations shall constitute a code for the Gramist Organisation.

Part II.—Election of Gramist Delegates to the Indian Political Organisations, and of Gramist Members to the local bodies and legislatures and statutory bodies and commercial, industrial and labour associations.

Gramism does not desire to be a mere propagandist affair. *Gramism* aims at active administration in terms of *Gramism*. Therefore, it is necessary that the popular institutions of the country must reflect *Gramism*. Gramists must, therefore, seek elections in legislatures, local bodies and gramists should participate in all political activities

in order to enforce *Gramism*. *Gramism* cannot remain a theory. *Gramism is the way of life of all Indians and is the maximum fulfilment of India's destiny*. *Gramism* must, therefore, be an all pervading influence in Legislation, Administration, Panchayats and Boards or Unions. *Gramism* must also penetrate into Trade Unions, Merchants' Bodies or Mahajans and commercial corporations and industrial undertakings and organisations. It will be the duty of all friends of an intensive collective development of our national life and prosperity to aid and assist the workers of *Gramism* in their endeavours—whether that be an exciting election or the routine tasks of Gramist Action.

Part III.—Co-ordination with village teachers and village officers, village corporations and village bankers, and village panchayats, and organisation of their associations or unions.

The village school and the village teacher, the village co-operative and the village banker, the village panchayats and the village officers constitute the institutions which influence and affect village life. These bodies have to be re-organised and these individuals have to be practically recreated with new ideals, new training, new tasks, new functioning, new responsibilities, and new powers to fit in the fulfilment of *Gramism* and nation building. These individuals have to be organised into associations or unions, and where such organisation exists, it has to be re-formed and aligned to *Gramism*.

Part IV.—Collaboration with All India Village Industries' Association and All India Spinners' Association.

Gramism seeks co-operation with all who are engaged in improving the life of the villages. The All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries' Associations are two useful institutions with a record of pioneering work and useful ideas of service to the peasants, and gramists can try their utmost for the work of these bodies.

Part V.—Legislative measures for Rural Beneficence and Village Power and Gramist Plans.

Gramism desires to operate its policies and programmes through legislative sanction and administrative action. New laws will be adopted for the village officers, village teachers, village police, village co-operatives, village executives, village advisers, and village technicians, and village organisers. These laws will provide for qualifications, training, tests, and detail all powers and duties, and regulate their functions and responsibilities.

The credit system of the village shall have to be co-ordinated, reorganised and reinforced by new laws to provide a basic and autonomous finance-structure, which can stand any crisis and serve the needs of agriculture, crafts, transport and local authorities without dependence on central or provincial resources or guidance.

A new Village-Bankers Law and a new Farm Law shall have to be enacted to reorganise Village—Finance and Agriculture, and to provide for collective tillage, harvesting co-operative purchases and sales. The crafts and industries of the villages will have to be planned and operated under suitable regulations. The civic life of the villages will require a distinct legislation imposing definite duties on the peasants and the shroffs; and its policing and administration shall be remodelled to convert the villages into powerful organisations for State action, regional security and national protection, prosperity and power.

Patr VI.—Administrative action and co-ordination for operating the measures stated in the resolutions of the first All India Rural Conference (1932) and its General Council and Executive Council (1933) as a preliminary basis of work for Gramists. (See Appendix).

In the year 1932, a conference of the members of legislatures, local bodies and others interested in rural measures was held at New Delhi near Council Chambers, when Mr. G. K. Deodhar, C.I.E., President, the Servants of India of Poona, founded by the late patriot Mr. G. K. Gokhale, presided. This writer worked as General Secretary and offered a basic rural programme. Almost all members of the Central Indian Legislature in 1932 gave

their approval, and unanimously adopted the comprehensive plan prepared by this writer. This was supplemented in 1933 by the General Council appointed at this Conference with an operative scheme.

This programme offers a wide sphere of work and will be found useful for operating the first stages of *Gramism*. A large part of this plan can be adopted easily by the Provincial Ministries and other institutions and national organisations and may be of great advantage to the country.

Part VII.—Administrative and economic reorganisation of the village areas.

The village areas cannot be continued under the present administrative system with economic waste and anarchy. The basic idea for the reorganisation of the village areas is the institution of autonomous regions and the operation of the political and economic life of the peoples of the areas on the principle of self-sufficiency and co-ordinated efficiency and productivity.

The executive administration has, therefore, to be reshaped completely to make it an organ of initiative, enterprise, organisation, consolidation, control and direction of all affairs in the village and regional areas. This reorganisation should be complete and autonomy must proceed from the village base to the area and the region in a pyramid of power, both civil and military, and political authority and economic self-support.

The economic reorganisation of the village areas has to be planned for local supply of primary necessities of food fuel, fodder, clothing, housing, transport and mechanical supplies. The aim has to be sufficiency of produce for self-supply and surplus for reserves and purchases. Co-ordination of labour and work has to be established for maximum economic efficiency and power, of the worker and the group, the village and the area, the region and the country.

Part VIII.—Establishment of colonies and autonomous village corporations.

Gramism desires to introduce co-operative economy and collective agriculture and crafts in villages and rural areas. It desires to utilise the waste areas for productive purposes and to develop forests and woods. It seeks to organise vast farms and rural towns by assimilating modern ideas and means. It aims at organising autonomous areas of villages in large or small groups for economic, administrative and political efficiency and action. *Gramism* designs corporate life and co-ordinated action with the aim of maximum productivity and utility for the villages as units of the nation.

Part IX.—Village Remaking, and training of the rural people in autonomy, defence, corporate organisation and efficiency and co-ordinated self-sufficiency.

Village Re-making is to be a mission of *Gramism*. It is not a simple phrase or a laudable idea. It is to be a definite plan with concrete action by the State authorities throughout India. It has all aspects—social, economic, political and national. It forms the pivot of national reconstruction in this Gramist Synthesis. It means the recreation of the village as a self-supplying, self-sufficient, self-supporting, self-governing unit. It means its reconstruction as a little State by itself with its local authority, its executive, its police, its cultural life, its economic structure, its political responsibility, its financial contribution and defence participation.

This complete reconstruction necessitates that the mind and habits of the village folk have to be tuned anew and enlivened to a new idealism and corporate achievement. The rural people have to be taught and instructed for this great endeavour. Each individual will have to be found his place in the scheme of reconstruction, and each shall have his appointed task and card-index of activity. Indolence or indifference or negligence will have to be censured and stigmatised by local sanctions as may be devised, and the cultivator and the craftsman and the credit

agent will have to be trained in corporate thought and planning in joint responsibility and apportioned labour, in initiative and execution, in organisation and operation, and in the exercise of political power and executive authority and the co-ordination of economic action and national protection.

Part X.—Organisation of Rural Finance and Economy.

The reorganisation of rural finance and rural economy is the paramount function of *Gramism* in its active and operative phase. The entire economic life of every village shall have to be revised and planned in consultation with the village folk, and their co-operation and co-ordination shall have to be coaxed and compelled as may be necessary. Villages will have to be re-grouped for their economic utility. Agriculture will have to be collectivised, and even mechanised if and where possible or profitable or advisable and acceptable. Purchases and sales will have to be through co-operatives. The spinning and weaving and cloth printing craft will have to be re-established and made attractive and fashionable in its products and useful, durable and popular. A toy industry shall have to be introduced. Pottery and enamelling will have to be remodelled. Craftsmen and mechanics will have to be trained through institutes, and organised through guilds. Crafts will have to be planned according to local skill and raw materials, and fitted in the regional scheme and country-wide plan of economic and national defence.

Rural Finance shall have to be regulated and established in a co-ordinated system of village, area and regional resiliency and sufficiency. Rural credit will have to be re-established and strengthened. The credit agents—the money lenders—will have to be trained for the new system and fitted into the new structure with adequate security and social and national incentive. It means mobilization of the rural credit system of India on the organisation of the rural resources for productivity and stability. It will be done by the incorporation of all rural ~~credit~~ agents

into unions, in a federal body, subject to a single law, with latitude for regional regulations and area rules, suitable to local conditions.

Part XI.—Working of a village cultural programme.

Gramism designs a great rural renaissance and *gramists* shall have to work out a comprehensive country-wide programme of rural enlightenment, and strive for the inculcation of the ethics of labour and duty and corporate action and personal self-denial and group sacrifice and village and regional and national service. The screen, the talkie, the radio, the gramophone will have to be harnessed to this task. The school, the play ground, the sports-field, and the training camp will have to be correlated for a superb cultural resurgence. The aim of cultural action shall be the instillation of new spirit and a new hope, for the forging of a new consciousness of social utility and national value in each rural worker and of each village, the imbibing of a confidence in ability and courage in action, the cultivation of a corporation—complex and service—spirit, collective mentality and national will.

Gramism aspires to a rural culture for the peasants and workers in villages which gives them self-esteem, restraint, self-command, nobility, tolerance, rectitude, honour, reverence for purity and learning, a spirit of justice and fair play, assertion of right and resistance to wrong, the morality of duty and worth according to work, a sense of discipline, a delicate heroism, respect for women, consideration for the old and the infirm, love and care of children and flowers, and a fine chivalry which will uplift the heart and aspirations, and exalt the spirit for a ceaseless endeavour for great causes and accomplishments. A new rural literature, rural art and rural music will have to be initiated to inspire the villages and rural workers into gramist achievements.

Part XII.—Creation of Gramist Literature.

Gramism will have to create a literature of its own. Gramists will have to write essays, articles, pamphlets and

books about gramist activities. The story and the ballad will have to be utilised for gramist work. A gramist drama and a gramist stage will have to be established. Professors, teachers and students, poets and musicians, writers and journalists will surely supply a powerful and robust electrifying gramist literature.

Part XIII.—Propaganda for the fulfilment of *Gramism*.

Gramism will require a nation-wide propaganda, and in each Taluka or Tehsil, and in each district town, centres will be established. Young men and women will pour into the villages to talk to the village folk of the new mission of *Gramism*, and teach them its message of faith and fulfilment in the "SOCOVIREIN." "*All Power To The Villages*" shall be the cry of the village-worker millions. Rural supremacy, and rural prosperity, and rural democracy shall be the doctrines. A slowly accumulating all pervading propaganda will activate the village folk and revolutionise the villages.

Part XIV.—Organisation of Gramist Finances.

It is essential to provide for finances for the work of *Gramism*. The people in various spheres of life will do their duty in contributing their quota to the gramist activities. The villages will consider it their prerogative to make *Gramism* absolutely their own creation through their own contributions in money, materials and men. With the growth of *Gramism* into an institution and an organisation, the finances will have to be funded into a trust or trusts, with central control and regional and local allocations, with reserves, and a system of checks, supervision, accounting and audit.

Part XV.—Organisation of Gramist Legion of Victory in the Villages.

It will be the supreme function of all gramist friends to institute village workers' corps in villages and village groups for village service, public peace, instructional and organisational work for political, social and economic activities, and constitute them into a Gramist

Workers League, and to instruct and train them in discipline, duty, and co-ordinated activity, and to constitute them into a Gramist Legion of Victory—GLOV—dedicated to the task of achieving and preserving *Gramism*. Such an organisation will be a power of social beneficence and shall be a national force to accomplish the purposes of *Gramism* as well as to operate the political and economic policies of *Gramism*.

II. SPECIAL PROGRAMME

It is generally said that the country should be industrialised and half the population-pressure on land could be so released. There can not be the least doubt that India must be quickly and completely industrialised but at the same time it is essential to see that industrialisation does not bring with it the curse of capital-dominance and labour-exploitation. The industrial system in India should also be planned on considerations of regional security and national defence. Various industries should be independent in each region, as far as possible, and inter-linked also for marketing purposes. The autonomy of each region should also include economic autonomy and defence autonomy. This must be the basic principle. The second is the co-ordination of capital, science, labour, intelligence and state for all industrial achievements. The security of the investor and the security of the worker must coincide and the two must form a partnership in the undertaking in a family spirit with the State as the controller, adviser, protector, and arbitrator. Heavy industries, key industries, and small industries should be classified in detail, and their establishment and organisation must be planned with a view to safeguard against emergencies and crises involving dislocation and isolation.

If military fortifications can be secured underground, it is worthwhile considering whether important Key Industries cannot be built up underground. It should also be examined by experts and businessmen how far and in what manner small industries dotted about all over the

country could serve the same purposes as the heavy industry. It should be the chief aim to make an industry a paying proposition, and therefore, the financier should be given enough interest and encouragement to make it his "concern" and this will require a carefully planned industrial code and labour code, defining basic aims and general policies with varying regulations, according to local needs and other conditions. In planning industrialisation, the aim shall be not merely the increase of wealth but also its proper distribution and allocation and its utilisation for the country's power and security.

The State in India shall have to build up an intricate industrial organisation and establish a new industrial service, a research service, a prospecting service, a technical service, an engineering service and an economic service, co-ordinated for operation in each area under a Regional Board, and linked up for common policies with a Central Planning Council as the supreme directive authority of all India.

The basic objective of the Central Planning Council and the Regional Boards shall be planning of prosperity and security. The lessons of the position of powers in the last and present war make it imperative that industries should be planned for national power and domestic security against shortage and blockade. The new Germany and Italy which have quietly, completely, cautiously and cleverly built up national, social and economic power in twenty years are solid illustrations of what an ordered national policy under State control can achieve. But the achievements of Soviet Russia far surpass any thing in conception or magnitude in a twenty-year-effort to reshape and rebuild the whole of the Russian people's economy, their productivity, utility and power for sustenance against all odds and calamities. Indian peoples should take their special lesson from all these three countries and Turkey as also from President Roosevelt's

Programme, for reconstructing their economic life and national power and from Britain's war measures.*

This economic nation-building in India embraces a vast and comprehensive programme of industrial, agricultural and economic development and organisation, so that the resources of all India shall be fully explored and utilised to increase the individual income and resources as also the general wealth of the country and to make the country fairly self-sufficient in peace and war.

GRAMIST PLANNING

The following are the major items of Gramist Planning :—

A. INDUSTRIALISATION

1. Rearing of Heavy Engineering Industry.
2. Rearing of Heavy Industrial Plant Manufactures.
3. Rearing of Electric Plant Manufactures.
4. Rearing of Locomotive Manufactures.
5. Rearing of Motor car—(Automobile)—Manufactures.
6. Rearing of Ship Building Manufactures.
7. Rearing of Aviation Manufactures.
8. Rearing of Armaments Manufactures.
9. Rearing of Rubber Industries.
10. Rearing of Iron Industries.
11. Rearing of Oil Industries.

* The British people began apprehending aggression since the Nazi occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia. The invasion of Poland found Britain only half-prepared. But the Nazi blitzkrieg in Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium set Britain going with grim determination. Britain changed its pilot in mid-war and entrusted the helm to Mr. Churchill whose will and dynamism infused a new spirit among the British nation. The British ruling class cheerfully sought the collaboration of the working classes, and Labour in Britain gave cordial and solid support against Nazi aggression and threat to England's liberties. The economic system underwent a drastic change, and state direction and semi-state control have been joined to private effort and initiative, and enterprise; and the coordination of capital, labour and state for national purposes has been excellently achieved. An immense social change has come over and its consequences cannot be stayed. But the British effort itself is an example of what can be done even in a strictly monopolistic capitalist polity.

Even in India, the resources of the country are being tapped in man-power, materials equipment and technicians, and the Eastern Group Conference, is the evidence of the utility of pooled economy and planned action. The pity is that all this effort is done by the bureaucracy as administrative measures, which are lacking in intensity for want of popular participation in government owing to the resignation of Congress cabinets in seven provinces, and the refusal of the British authorities to secure the cooperation of the Congress, the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha, on a basis of *real* national responsibility for the Indian ministries at the Centre and Provinces. It is a tragedy that the British Government does not desire to go beyond a hypothetical assurance couched in equivocal language and hedged in with several plausible reservations. What tremendous possibilities of India's free and willing cooperation have been and are being missed! Britain will win the war, but will miss the opportunity of the century of winning the gratitude of India by acceding to its independence and establishing it as its permanent ally for weal and woe for the future

12. Rearing of Copper Industries.
13. Rearing of Coal Industries.
14. Rearing of Chemical Industries.
15. Rearing of Manganese Industries.

B. ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

1. Planning of Industrial Crops for Armament Purposes.
2. Planning of Food and Fibre Crops for National Sufficiency in Food and Clothing.
3. Planning of Fuel and Charcoal Supplies.
4. Planning of Forests.
5. Planning of Arboriculture and Horticulture.
6. Planning of Medicinal Farming.
7. Planning of Road-ways and Water-ways.
8. Planning of Electricity for Every Village.
9. Planning of Irrigation for Every Village.
10. Planning of Transport for Every Village and Region.
11. Planning of Telephone and Radio for Every Village.
12. Planning of Telegraph and Post for Every Village.
13. Planning of Economic Farming for Every Village.
14. Planning of Export Crops, e.g., Commercial and Industrial Farming.
15. Planning of Brick Housing for Every Village.
16. Planning of Bomb-proof Shelters for Villages or Areas.
17. Planning of Cattle Wealth.
18. Planning of Metal Industries.
19. Planning of Fruit Industries.
20. Planning of Cotton Wool and Silk Textiles.

III. VILLAGE RE-MAKING PROGRAMME

1. Village and field crop valuation.
2. Removal and redress of administrative and local grievances.
3. Initiation of Rural Laws, and Amendment and Improvement of Laws and Rules affecting rural life.

4. Revision of Revenue Laws and Administrative Reorganisation.
5. Medical aid and Veterinary aid.
6. Sanitation and Hygiene.
7. Loans under Agricultural Loans Act and Land Improvement Loans Act.
8. Agricultural improvement with expert advice and aid.
9. Village soil and sub-soil study, improvement and development.
10. Co-operative and Collective Farming.
11. Good Seed Supply.
12. Crop Planning.
13. Consolidation of Holdings.
14. Rural Marketing.
15. Co-operative Crop Sales.
16. Village Arboriculture.
17. Village Horticulture.
18. Vegetable and Fruit Orchards.
19. Flowers and Gardening.
20. Cultivation of medicinal plants and herbs.
21. Village Pastures.
22. Village Forests, Destruction of pests, insects and Remedies for diseases of plants and crops.
23. Spinning and Weaving of cloth and articles of cotton and wool for local needs.
24. Small Crafts.
25. Pottery and Chinaware.
26. Smithy or Workshop.
27. Carpentry.
28. Wood Crafts.
29. Protection of birds and pet animals.
30. Breeding of milch cattle, cows and buffaloes and goats.
31. Breeding of pack animals, horses, camels and bullocks, and mules.

32. Sheep farming and breeding of sheep, goats and camel for wool.
33. Poultry Farming.
34. Breeding and Training of carrier pigeons.
35. Breeding and Training of dogs and hounds.
36. Breeding and Training of rabbits, foxes, and cats.
37. Domestic Dairy Produce.
38. Co-operative Dairying.
39. Water Supply.
40. Farm Irrigation.
41. Village Electric and Power supply for light, heat, irrigation and industry.
42. Village Roads and Lanes.
43. Manures.
44. Fuel Supply.
45. Fairs, Exhibitions and Competitions.
46. Sports and Games.
47. Gymnasiums—wrestling, fencing, physical culture.
48. Scouting.
49. First Aid and Ambulance.
50. Military Drill and Rifle Practice.
51. Village Park.
52. Village Play Ground.
53. Village Hall and Theatre.
54. Village School.
55. General Knowledge.
56. Useful Information.
57. Village History.
58. Village Geography.
59. Scientific Facts.
60. Village Geology.
61. Village Lectures, Demonstrations and Shows.
62. Village Radio.
63. Village Plays, Concerts and Entertainments.
64. Political Education in the Principles and Practice of Democracy, Self-Government and Elections.
65. Musical Education.

66. Village Library and Reading Room.
67. Fodder Reserves.
68. Grain Reserves.
69. Fuel Reserves.
70. Village Planning and Housing—Re-building.
71. Rural Credit Facilities.
72. Village Shahukars (Bankers), Organisation, Co-ordination and Control.
73. Village Self-Administration.
74. Village Self-protection and Self-defence.
75. Village Post and Telegraph.
76. Village Telephone.
77. Village Judiciary for conciliation and arbitration of civil disputes and compoundable offences.
78. Village Automobile and Transport—tramways or guideways.
79. Village Gliding and Flying.
80. Village Fund.
81. Village Finance Reserves.
82. Village Insurance—infirmity age and cattle.
83. Village Militia.
84. Village Pilots.
85. Village Mechanics.
86. Village Teachers.
87. Village Officers.
88. Village Servants.
89. Village Police.
90. Mechanisation. Machine, implements and tools—use and making and repairs—training.
91. Technical Advice, Aid and Assistance.
92. Mechanical Training and Equipment.
93. Dietary.
94. Culinary art.
95. Decoration.
96. Fine Arts.
97. Personal Hygiene and Cosmetics.
98. Physical Strength and Beauty.
99. Public Baths and Tanks.
100. Music.

101. Garba and Folk dance.

This *Village Programme* is the basic programme on which *Gramism* desires to raise the entire structure—political and economic—of a new India as a Free State of Sovereign Peoples, and it is this Village Re-making which it shall be the primary endeavour of all *Gramists* to effectualise. It is an eminently practicable achievement and can surpass even the Soviet's work for economic construction and consolidation and national conservation.

PART IV

THE NEW VILLAGE

THE NEW VILLAGE

GRAMISM does not indulge in the day-dreaming of opium-eaters. *Gramism* aspires to hard practical achievements scientifically planned and carefully executed. The basic belief of *Gramism* is the reconstruction and reconstitution of village life and Indian villages, as autonomous, political economic and administrative units, forming through their incorporated commonwealth, a cohesive force, and generating a collective energy, wisely and prudently directed, for national prosperity and security. *The source of authority and prosperity and the base of action and power shall be the village.* The influence and prestige of the village in India shall be synonymous with the influence and prestige of India in the world in all international affairs. The creative ability and constructive effort of the village shall equate a millionfold the new constructive achievement of India.

The "101" items in the "Village Remaking" plan indicate the necessities and possibilities of the new synthesis of *Gramism*. The working up of this plan fulfils a revolutionary purpose, and collectively the effort will be the initiation, projection and practicalisation of a real revolution in the life of three quarter million villages. This Gramist Synthesis endows three hundred and fifty millions of rural workers with a positive aspiration, a visible self-achievement, a conscious contribution to national progress and power, a real local administrative authority, a genuine pride and ennobling self-esteem, a co-operative instinct and corporate mind, and a collective spirit and will, a conception of duty and service and a moral power arising out of sacrifice for the village, the region, the commonwealth and the country—all of which will sing the *music of resurrection* of the culture and might and influence of India in a troubled world for peace and harmony and

international co-operation. Through this vast varied and comprehensive and constructive synthesis only is the *soul* of India, living in the villages, to be enlivened and energised, to offer its creative message to humanity, to undo social inequalities and injustices, and to limit national and racial ambitions.

This is a part of the meaning and message of *Gramism* and that will be the function and power of *Gramism*. *Gramism*, fully alive to the varied difficulties of its tremendous task, confidently hopes to harness the faith, will and energy of India's peoples with love and loyalty for regimented action with military discipline to secure its achievement.

It is on the foundation of this *faith* and this *mission* that *Gramism* seeks expression and action through the Village and its constituted corporate sovereignty of a Free India. That is why the village and the rural worker will exercise definite rights and duties in this revolutionary synthesis.

Gramism confers on the Village and the Rural Worker the *Prerogative of Power*—

Village Prerogative of Power

1. The village has the right and duty to choose its supreme ruler—the Head of the State—in India.
2. The village has the right and duty to choose its delegates to the Indian Parliament, Legislatures and Statutory Bodies, and its deputies to the Central, Provincial, States or Regional or Local Authorities.
3. The village has the right and duty of self-administration of its Local, Sectional and Regional Areas.
4. The village has the right and duty of self-protection, regional security, and national defence.
5. The village has the right and duty of self-sufficiency economic security, political self-government and

national conservation of economic and defence—power.

6. The village has the right and duty of referendum, recall and re-election.
7. The village has the right and duty of preservation of peace and tranquillity and maintenance of order.
8. The village has the right and duty of initiating, considering, revising, and executing laws, decrees, ordinances, regulations and rules.
9. The village has the right and duty of determining the constitution for the governance of India.

The New Village will not be the mud-hovel—insanitary, ugly and impoverished—that it is today. The New Village will be a perfect model town under the Village Re-making Plan. *The New Village will be a charm, an attraction, an inspiration and a faith. The New Village will be an Army in Action. The New Village will at once be the poetry and the power of India. The New Village will be the might of three hundred and fifty millions of Indian Rural Peoples' spirit and achievement.*

The New Village is conceived as a small state by itself and will be planned as a self-organised, self-controlling, self-supplying unit, and a co-ordinated contributory to the regional and national life and power of the country. The New Village is to be chiselled out of the old village with its environments and experiences, in spite of its disintegration and decay during the last century. The New Village is to be the active expression and instrument of *Gramism* and of India's liberation and freedom. The aspirations for such a New Village and Village Power shall be the motive force of a revolution, that will seek the occupation of all seats and institutions of influence, power, instruction, opinion, authority and action. The New Village will inspire the conquest of power for *Gramism* and the disciplined and planned use of power for national freedom, economic emancipation, corporate sovereignty and international equality.

Ideal of the New Village

The New Village will be an ethical reality and a continual epic of labour and industry, justice and equity, service and co-operation, duty and sacrifice.

In the New Village of *Gramism*—

None shall lack work;

None shall lack food;

None shall lack shelter;

None shall lack service;

None shall lack guidance;

None shall lack medical—surgical care;

None shall lack protection from wrong or injury;

None shall lack education and training;

None shall lack franchise;

None shall lack exercise and entertainment.

None shall deny labour for the village, the cause, and the country;

None shall deny life for the Country or the Gramist Cause;

None shall deny money for the Country and the work of Gramism;

None shall deny Justice;

None shall deny accredited authority.

The conception of the New Village is three-fold, as an administrative co-operative, an economic collective, and a political corporation, for Defence and Democracy founded on the bases of morals and culture.

Fulfilment of the Dream

And Years Hence

After years of repression and suppression, squabbles and quarrels, opposition and obstruction, of undying faith and unswerving purpose, of ceaseless toil and persistent endeavour, of strenuous moral effort of diverting selfishness and greed into social functioning and corporate pride and national ego, *Gramism*, working up its world mission and national synthesis in India, has been winning—

The "Proclamation of SOCOVIREIN" has been acclaimed in the villages and towns of India, after two years of non-violent war of liberation, declared and conducted by the peoples, organised and prepared under *Gramism*, and won with a nation-wide resistance and ordered self-acquisition of authority conducted with militant constitutional action.

The New Revolution of *Gramism* has achieved a bloodless victory. India has commenced its march of a new destiny and inaugurated a new era of world harmony and peace.

The Indo-British Treaty of Sovereignty and Security, Equality and Reciprocity, Aid and Alliance awaited ratification in the Parliaments of India and Great Britain.

The British peoples have nobly fulfilled their self-assumed mission of civilisation and democracy and liberty, and the British Parliament has honourably fulfilled its pledge by completely reclaiming its authority and by its acquiescence in the assumption of their rightful sovereignty by the peoples of India.

Asia has hailed India's rebirth as a Power, as the dawn of a new epoch in Asia and a new age in the world, inaugurating equity, harmony, co-operation, prosperity, social justice and people's polity and economic democracy, and ensuring freedom and culture to each country.

India has broadcasted its peace and good-will to all its neighbours and expressed its will to serve the cause of Asiatic Integrity and Freedom by alliance with Russia, Nepal, Burma, China, Siam, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Arabia and Egypt.

India has accepted the Equality and Integrity of Asiatic States—

Gramism has stood straight for political equality, economic justice and national equity between countries and nations.

It is the full moon of a November night in the year 19... and the 'New Village' in India revels in energy, and plenty celebrating their resurrection into purity power and prosperity.

A great ideal has been realised.

The *Octagon of Gramism* is complete—

Every village—a granary and a factory.

Every village—an academy and a poly-technic.

Every village—a brigade and a bastion.

Every village—a fortress and a workshop.

The eternal circle of power in *Gramism* is achieved in the SOCOVIREIN.

The village has its collective, its co-operative, its complete economy, its full health-service, its school and gymnasium, its theatre and club, its autonomous authority for administration and defence, its trained technicians and teachers and organisers, its drivers, mechanics, pilots, its equipped soldiers with motor-truck, machine-gun and air plane, and its fully prepared, perfectly co-ordinated leadership, for the security and power of India for the Gramist State and Society.

AND SUCH IS THE 'NEW VILLAGE'—

The hedges are laden with flowers. The cottages are covered with jasmine and roses. The road ways are shaded with neems, tamarinds, pipals and banyans. The water tanks are full. The fields are planned and marketed by the collective. The farms are manured, cultivated, and harvested with machine aided by bullocks. The animals are strong, healthy and finely shaped. Every house-hold has a cow, a buffalo, a bullock and goats. Every family yard is clean and neat, and has lime and banana and papaiya plants. The village has a common mango grove, a common cotton field, a common pasture and a common wood-land. The village lanes are cleaned every morning and evening. The refuse heaps and manures are conserved hygienically.

Village Rule

The Village Council governs the life of the entire area—

- (a) Its Farm Committee plans and operates agriculture, arboriculture and horticulture and vegetable and fruit orchards and peasants' labour and irrigation of the village, in co-ordination with the areal and regional Farm Planning Board.
- (b) Its Economic Committee attends to the supplies of seeds, manures, domestic needs, and credits, payments, cash, reserves, purchases and marketing of products and the warehouse and stores and statistics and records, in co-ordination with the Areal and Regional Economic Board.
- (c) Its Culture Committee concerns itself with the school, the radio, the library, the play-ground, sports, competitions, lectures, shows, plays, exhibitions in co-ordination with the Areal and Regional Culture Council.
- (d) Its Defence Committee concerns itself with physical training, drills, rifle practice, camps, military instruction and training, riding, cycling, motor driving and repairing, police work and protection, in co-ordination with the Areal and Regional Defence Council.
- (e) Its Justice Committee administers the village court, and adjudicates or arbitrates on all civil and criminal cases, and advises settlement of personal, domestic, group or other disputes, in co-ordination with the Areal Court and Regional Justice Commission.
- (f) Its Health Committee attends to hygiene, sanitation, street-lighting, drinking water supply, medical and surgical aid, nursing, midwifery, child care, in co-ordination with the Areal and Regional Health Commission.
- (g) Its Cattle Committee attends to the health and upkeep and breed of animals and live stock, and

arranges veterinary aid in co-ordination with the Areal and Regional Cattle Board.

- (h) Its Transport Communications Committee attends to the post, telephone, messengers, carts, vans, lorries, motor vehicles, cycles, lanes, water ways, road ways, and connecting high ways, in co-ordination with the Areal and Regional Transport Board.

The Village Council keeps the grain, fodder and fuel reserves, its seeds, manures and salt stores, keeps the village register of farms, home-steads, cattle, property and rights, transfers and assignments, keeps the revenue records, and collects and administers revenue and taxes on behalf of the State, and pays its contributions and taxes and revenues to the areal and regional state authorities, and discharges all duties and functions as the administrative agents of the State in the village and the area.

The New Village is being rebuilt on a garden-town plan. *A new rural citizenship of labour and service has been active.* The elders talk of the old days of disintegration and decay, and bless themselves for giving to their new generation the gifts of *Gramism*. The youth are energetic, eager, buoyant, well-built, perfectly trained, restrained, disciplined and willing workers, for social duties and service to the Village, the Area, the Region and their Country—India. The women have been enlightened and organised for share in duties to the village and country. The women have disdained the frivolities of western or eastern modernity and cities. The village women have revived the old customs and traditions of common participation and joint-share in duties and service. The women have refused the water tap and have insisted on the wells for retaining the glory and grace of their poetic pose and step and walk. The women do not veil, but prefer light sarees or survals and bodices and skirts which will adequately cover their breasts and legs, and shape charmingly in wearing, as they dislike exposing their body, and desire statuesque fits and styles. The Garba of Gujarat and the Rope

Dance Music and the Folk Dance have become universal. The women sketch and draw and paint for decorating their homes and adorning their villages. The women spin cotton and wool into yarn which is woven for local use. Art and Music have assumed an ethical note and fervent appeal for *social action* for village service, for bravery and gallantry, for self-discipline and self-denial and for national sacrifice with the supreme ideal of "*Johar, Kesaria and Shahidi*" for duty and honour. The women have aided and co-operated in the '*Gramist Resurrection*' of the Village and the Indian nation. *Gramism* had recreated the Village and the Indian Rural Commonwealth, established a Sovereign State, accomplished communal accord harmony and agreement, secured national fusion and cohesion, and consolidated a resurgent but peace-loving Indian nation and evolved *a new socio-economic synthesis which permitted capital and secured labour's and talents' privileges in a real peoples' state.*

Rural Social State

And so, in India, Bentham and Karl Marx have found a new Union. Lenin has been reincarnated in the era of *Gramism* which has fashioned a new type of social communism based on the entire village community and town-unit for India. The supremacy of the village and the village worker has supplanted the domination of the capitalist—financier, the land owner and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The practical ideal of *Coparcenary* and the *active principles* of *co-operativism* and *collectivism* have been harmonised and practicalised to shape a social state of rural peoples—a *Gramrashtra*—*Gramistan*—where riches are not denied but restricted, where individual right has been merged into the village and workers' corporation, and where personal privileges have been replaced by collective service for commonweal, society and national duty to the country. That is the *work of Gramism in its striving for harmonies and a balanced economy for various sections in the whole country*; and it offers the last bridge before unseeing, unfeeling and understanding capitalism is crushed by communism ruthlessly and pitilessly.

PART V

GRAMIST GOVERNMENT

WHAT A GRAMIST GOVERNMENT MAY DO ?

GRAMISM seeks to establish its own politico-economic system of State and Society; and its new structure will necessitate vast changes in the life and activities of the people and a new agency for its creation and continuous operation. *Gramism* will seek, through the control of political power, its entire fulfilment. *Gramism* will organise to establish its Government and to use this authority for its vast policies and programmes.

What a Gramist Government should do is divided into four sections :—

1. ADMINISTRATION,
2. ECONOMICS,
3. EDUCATION and
4. DEFENCE,

with a plan for each section. These plans are merely sketched in their outlines and they will be completed and perfected as their details can only be worked out as developing conditions may dictate :—

I. *Gramist Administrative Plan*

1. Regional divisions preferably on economic basis re : land produce, minerals, oils, coal or water power, etc.
2. Small administrative sub-divisions on the basis of economic aid and supervision and direction of economic life of the area.
3. Co-relation of administrative and economic divisions to military and defence organisation.

4. Each sub-division to be administered by a commission of officials—experts in different lines required for the area to secure co-ordinated policy, collective action and concentrated work.
5. Each such commission to be aided with advice by a consultative body of the area representative of (1) different interests properly organised in associations and (2) constituted village authorities.
6. Budgetary initiative for each sub-division and area under the final control of the regional or provincial authority for the purpose of revenue expenditures, resources and reserves.
7. Minimum of departmental interference in the administrative commissions' normal working.
8. Supervision and direction of regional officials aided by regional councils for the purpose of effecting maximum efficiency and achievement of planned results.
9. All Services to be independent of local favouritism or patronage.
10. Mutuality of Public Services' Efficiency — meaning the competency of members of one department to discharge the duties of other departments also.
11. Utility Services under State Regulation.
12. Economic Advisory and Directive Services under State Planning.
13. Conscription of parasite labour-power for local, regional and national utilities and necessities.
14. Administrative re-organisation with respect to functions, powers, responsibilities and duties of directives, executives and subordinates.
15. Decentralisation and devolution of authority to promote autonomous administrative units and areas.

II. *Gramist Economic Plan*

1. Self-sufficiency for food, fodder and fuel.
2. Emergency reserve and stores.
3. Rail, automobile and road and river transport co-ordination.
4. Organised collection, conservation and utilisation of waste-products.
5. Planned production of commercial and industrial crops.
6. Technological and mechanical self-sufficiency.
7. Transport self-sufficiency.
8. Naval and mercantile ship-building.
9. Defence materials' manufacture and supply.
10. Self-sufficiency in cotton, jute, wool, rubber, seeds, etc.
11. Self-sufficiency in ores, minerals, coal, oil, iron, copper, wood, leather, cordage, etc.
12. Self-sufficiency in chemicals and medicinal preparations.
13. Self-sufficiency in medicinal crops.
14. Planned breeding of horses, camels, bullocks, buffaloes, sheep, goats, poultry, pigeons, dogs, etc.
15. Planned campaign for the cure of crop diseases, and destruction of crop-pests.
16. Planned forestry.
17. Arboriculture on a national scale.
18. Country-wide organised horticulture.
19. Complete revision of national dietary for personal hygiene, domestic health, and physical prowess.
20. Foreign trade on Exchange Basis.
21. Licensed trading under State control.
22. Controlled Banking.
23. Organised and Controlled Rural Credit.

24. Organisation of Industrial and Agricultural Finance.
25. Limitation of Profits.
26. Contribution to National Reconstruction Works.
27. Co-ordinated exchanges in relation to foreign commercial dealings.
28. Conservation of gold and silver reserves.
29. Compulsory arbitration of labour disputes.
30. An Industry and Labour Charter ensuring security and amenities with adequate wages and profit sharing to the worker, and efficiency to the industry, with a view to productivity and wealth-increase.

III. *Gramist Educational Plan*

1. Indian Rural University.
2. Central Village Training Board.
3. Central Taluka Schools.
4. District Rural Institutes.
5. Uniform text books, curriculum and courses of study.
6. Training in physical culture, health and hygiene and social service.
7. Training in self-protection, village security and national defence.
8. Training in initiative, enterprise, judgment, executive-control—capacity and directive ability.
9. Training in co-operative organisation, co-ordination, administrative work and business management.
10. Training in civics, self-government, and democracy, corporate life and collective activities.
11. Education in ethical principles, code of honour, chivalry and manners.
12. Training in music, arts, theatre, dance, photography and the screen.

13. Education in literature, history, politics, economics and sociology.
14. Training in farming, fruit growing, and home crafts.
15. Training in survey, building and village planning.
16. Training in use of mechanical power—engines, automobiles, machines, electricity and repairs.
17. Training for efficiency in trades crafts and services.
18. Training in gliding and flying.

IV. *Gramist Defence Plan*

1. Aerodrome in each district and landing ground in each taluka.
2. Air force of 10,000 planes of all classes and services excluding commercial planes.
3. A land force of 100,000 regulars, 10,00,000 reservists and 1,00,00,000 territorials.
4. An officers corps of 2,500 regulars, 25,000 reservists and 100,000 territorials.
5. A range of coastal batteries on the entire coast line with naval fortresses at short distances.
6. An adequate navy of submarines, cruisers, pocket war ships and sea planes for guarding Indian Naval Frontiers from Singapore to Aden.
7. Naval and national training for marines, cadets and officers, for commercial and naval seamanship with reserve of men and officers.
8. Compulsory physical training in all schools.
9. Military training in all Higher Schools and Colleges.
10. Compulsory military camp-training for every adult for one year and one month's annual camp training.
11. Military course of study and instruction in schools and colleges.
12. Military academies for officers' training.
13. General staff-training in strategy and command.

14. Country-wide military commissariat organisation.
15. Women's military service training in nursing ambulance, automobiles and aeronautics.
16. Country-wide military transport organisation.
17. Country-wide munitions and military materials' organisation.
18. Mobilisation plans and regional security plans.
19. Control and co-ordination of village, areal and regional plans in a system of autonomous defence.
20. Aeronautical training in flying, ground engineering, mechanical repairs and manœuvres.

The entire defence policy shall be based on universal training and arming of the peoples welded into a mighty Indian Nationhood of Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs and Christians—for their father-land—INDIA, and the creation of a *real citizen defence force*, trained through politicalisation, democratisation and nationalisation for the protection of the country, as a part of the State, and socio-economic system and as a cultural institution for unity, integrity, harmony and peace.

All these "National Plans" have to be co-related to the major purposes, principles and policies of *Gramism*, inter-linked and co-ordinated to secure the maximum of economy and efficiency in working out a real peoples' democracy and peoples' defence in a Peoples' Polity and Peoples' Economy, based on the village worker and the village, as the unifying integrating and conserving force of a Free United India.

These vast undertakings can offer employment to at least ten million peoples; and trade industry and national life will have expanded fully so as to absorb even a greater number permanently.

Five Million Workers to Remake India

The fulfilment of Gramist Synthesis is a problem of men, money and materials. The operation of the Village Re-

making Plan and the entire National Programme of *Gramism* will require a corps of five million nation builders—faithful, diligent, competent, sincere, gramist workers—technicians, mechanics, agronomists, artisans, craftsmen, organisers, operators, supervisors, advisers, administrators, scientists, engineers, architects, delegates, deputies, legislators, executives and directives.

The questions of finance, organisation, technical skill, efficient control, energetic supervision and conscientious and dutiful directive talent and ability are baffling, and doubts regarding these problems shall be put forth by stale thinkers and happy-go critics as the preventive obstruction. But the example of poor countries like Turkey, Italy and Russia, and indebted, crippled countries like Germany and struggling China are before the world. They are an illustration of what a people can achieve, under a corporate or collective economy, with State initiative, guidance direction and control. What is possible for Russia and China and Turkey or Germany or Italy is not impossible for India. That is why *Gramism* aims at the control of political power and administrative authority and legislative institutions, so that the entire energy of the people may be co-ordinated to the State apparatus for accomplishing this miracle of peaceful reconstruction and creative revolution in a maximum period of one generation with the minimum of friction and dislocation in social life.

The willing co-operation of labour—the rural worker citizen—might be forthcoming, provided he is assured that he is contributing to his own personal, local and regional prosperity, and so creating national prosperity, and that he is not merely a wage slave for the profiteering of the merchant, the industrialist, and the banker—financier. He will have this assurance, *only* if he is not merely the voter, but the agent and operator in the execution of these policies and programmes. That is why *Gramism* will work for a Rural Commonwealth, in which the interests of the village worker shall be predominant and supreme in

shaping and working the political institutions of government, legislatures and corporations in India.

This huge planning of gigantic dimensions in the matter of, administrative, educational, cultural and social reorganisation, vast economic reconstruction and new defence structure, will be an immense effort, and it will require thousands of millions sterling. Consider the needs of administrative advisory and technical services, of civil amenities and cultural and social services, of a huge works programme of irrigation, water ways and guide ways, of new installation of ship-building, air-craft and machine plants, of afforestation of mountains, jungles and plains, of mechanisation of India's industrial life in every branch and of economy and defence, of the development of India's mineral resources, of swift co-ordinated political economic and social action for India's security and power and its people's prosperity and vigour. All these may require some five thousand millions sterling in a *twenty year plan*.

Consider Another Vision : the conversion of India's mud villages into garden towns—the planned rebuilding of the entire countryside implying the planning of tens of thousands of new village towns and remodelling of half a million villages and a ten hundred millions peasant homesteads. All this may require some ten thousand millions sterling.

Let these sums not stagger anyone anywhere. The present individual income in India is variously reckoned from three to five pounds a year. Economic, social and defence reconstruction involving five thousand millions in twenty years mean only 250 millions a year which is approximately one fifth of the total annual income of India. The planned rebuilding can begin after the first decade of *Gramism* when national wealth has been increased and national income has been at least doubled; and the peoples have reserves which they can easily incorporate and invest in new village planning.

What tremendous possibilities for the whole peoples for the building trade and allied occupations—for co-operative enterprise in a twenty year plan of a huge National Housing Corporation with regional and areal subsidiaries—for Finance and Insurance—for the shroffs and investors, for talent ability and integrity and for all the variety of labour and craftsmen.

These figures appear astounding and may appear fantastic to some people accustomed to poverty and starvation and semi-nakedness small thinking and narrow outlook. Habituated to dejection, they may shake their heads in scepticism; but imagination, foresight, enterprise and co-operation *can* and *shall* accomplish all these plans. All this can be done by State Action co-ordinated to peoples' Will and Work which could be made possible by *Gramism* alone. The beginning of this task will give the peoples a new hope, a progressive prosperity a new confidence and its realisation a new courage and power.

It will be asked, is this possible? It should be cherished and appreciated, that with the operation of this programme and the consequent development of industrial and economic resources, resulting in the increase of wealth, the income per head will at least be doubled and may even be fourfold and hence the national income will similarly be double or fourfold. The annual reconstruction requirements distributed in five four year periods requiring 250 millions a year, will gradually absorb only ten per cent. of the total national increased income in the course of this reconstruction towards the complete fulfilment. This capital material and labour will create in the country new wealth and earn an average return of at least six to nine per cent. which reinvested at that rate may double the invested capital after ten years. All this will obviously increase the people's income which by just regulation and control and equitable distribution and allocation must increase the workers' income per head eventually to some six times as at present, and consequently improve the standard of living to a corresponding degree of disciplined national and social life,

personal and domestic comfort, leisure and refinement, and enable vast savings and reserves, which can be accumulated and incorporated for village rebuilding, promoting in return new enterprise, new investments and larger increase of wealth and income.

Is this conceivable or is it a mid-summer chimera? The bold answer is, that, *it is feasible*; and *my faith* is that nothing is impossible for the Indian peasant, that anything could be achieved by the Indian Village for its prosperity and the power of the country. These astronomical figures seem bewildering indeed, but that is exactly what *Gramism* aspires to effectuate. *Gramism* aims to give the Indian peasant and the village, a purpose, an aspiration, an incentive, an inspiration and an institution, and for all this a *New Faith* in himself, his village, and his country, which will make him a world influence and India a world-power.

Faith and Energy will work these wonders inspired by *Gramism*.

And thus, the remaking of India under the Gramist Synthesis is a stupendous achievement in a *twenty years' task* for *five million workers* and *five thousand million sterling reconstruction*.

Thus *Gramism* has worked and won a New India. A new Indian Nationhood, a new Indian Renaissance, a new Indian Economic Reconstruction, a new Political Structure, a new Social Synthesis have been created fulfilling the hopes of great Indians. *Gramism* has reconquered India again as a National Power and an International Force for Economic Justice and Political Peace. The faith of its Saints in India's destiny has been fulfilled. The vision of its Statesmen has come true. The dreams of its Patriots and its Princes have been realised. Future India will immortalize by its renaissance and power the sacrifices of India's sons and daughters, and the martyrdom of the Legion of Heroes who have suffered and died, unknown and unwept, enriching the soil of Indian patriotism with the fire of their spirit and unconquered faith—of all who worked and lived for one

aspiration—an India risen to its full heights of independence, free from domination and exploitation—and its peoples, emancipated and enlightened, indivisible and invincible, in their unity and will, enjoying the dignity and esteem and influence and affluence and authority due to their great past their power and their potentialities. *Gramism* has accomplished their heart's wishes into a concrete reality, and that shall be the *Triumph* of *Gramism*.

All these theses, purposes, principles, aims, objectives, policy and programme and plan, must be a part of the FAITH, that *Gramism*—its idealism and inspiration, its ideology and synthesis—must permeate the whole life of all the peoples in the country, in the economic services, defence forces, civil and cultural activities, political and administrative action and Asiatic and Inter-national affairs. *Gramism* must be India's universal aspiration and energy.

PART VI
THE
POWER OF GRAMISM

I. GRAMISM IS A FAITH :
THE NATIONAL FAITH OF THE VILLAGE
AND WORKER MILLIONS.

THIS Nationalism of India has sought expression since Ashoka erected the pillars of Imperial Nationalism, and Akbar the Great endeavoured a fusion of Hindu and Muslim philosophy and consolidation of all interests acknowledging his Central Sovereignty. It has sought expression through the struggle of Rana Pratap in Mewar-Udaipur and Shivaji Maharaj in the Deccan. It persevered through the diplomacy of Nana Fadnavis and the Army Revolt of the Indian Sepoys—Hindus and Muslims—in 1857. It has surged up in ancient times with Shri Shankaracharya's conquest for the supremacy of Hindu culture, and with Sant Chisti at Ajmere for the immortal teachings of Islam and Sufism. It recently saw synthetic expression through the teachings of Swami Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Shri Aurobindo Ghosh, and it sought a militant expression through the Arya Samaj of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and the preachings of Swami Vivekanand. It sought emotional expression with Christian influence through the Bramho Samaj. It has been sung by Rabindranath Tagore and Mahomed Iqbal; and it has been immortalised by Jagadish Bose, Prof. T. K. Gajjar and Justice Sulaiman in the realm of Science and Culture, and by the Rishi Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das—the Prince of Sacrifice who dreamt and gifted his all for the rural people, by Pandit Malaviyaji through the Benares Hindu University and by Sir Saiyed Ahmed through the Aligarh Muslim University in the realms of Knowledge and Learning. It was visualised by Raja Ram Mohan Rai and Ranade and Mazrul Huq and Ajmal Khan.

Indian Nationalism has been worked out by a galaxy of great Indians in a series of sixty years of endeavour and services for popular expression and people's well-being. They are a legion—Dadabhoy Naoroji and Pherozeshah Mehta, Subramania Iyer and Gokhale, Lokmanya Tilak and Lajpatrai, Motilal Nehru and Vithalbhai Patel, in Politics—Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar and Swami Shraddhanand, Sathianandji Swaminarayan, Kavi Narmad and Ramanbhai Nilkanth in Social Progress;—Jamshedji Tata and Premchand Roychand, Chinubhai Madhavlal and Annamaliar Chettiar, Tarakanth Palit and Rasbehari Ghosh in Philanthropy; the great nation-building Rulers—Sayajirao of Baroda and Madhaorao Scindia of Gwalior, Ranjitsinghji of Jamnagar and Bhagwatsinghji of Gondal, the Nizam of Hyderabad and Krishna Raja Wodiyar of Mysore and the late Sultan Jehan Begum of Bhopal in people's welfare work; Prabhashankar Pattani and Salarjang in administration and diplomacy: Pandita Ramabai, D. K. Karve, Bajigaori Daulatrai and Naniben Gajjar in women's emancipation. Nor can India ever forget the illustrious Mrs. Beasant's magnificent contribution to India's culture and political progress in the growth of our nationalism.

But the spirit of the suppressed and suffering masses expressed its wail and agony in the voice of Mahatma Gandhi—the heir to the Prophets of Yore, and the Awakener of modern India. This was the Nationalism of the peoples expressed by Gandhiji in terms of masses' well-being. *Gramism* seeks to develop this Nationalism for the resurgence and power of the peoples.

This *Nationalism* has lived dormant through centuries of degeneracy and disintegration, and it must now seek to speak through the *Village*—the only supreme and sovereign unit and entity—which has survived revolutions and wars retaining its administrative autonomy, its social integrity, its economic sufficiency and solidarity, and its moral power which has suffered decay and atrophy under British administration, and which must now be vivified inspired and energised, to assert its influence and authority as a political

force, an economic power and a cultural basis. This revival and restoration of the village and reacquisition and re-shaping of its heritage, in modern and future India, in casting a system of government, society, economy, education, administration and defence, is the Gospel of the Village, and it is the *New Command* for every village and its teeming multi-millions, to work and sacrifice and acquire, for the villages, the right of determination of India's nationhood and sovereignty and its polity and socio-economic structure, and to achieve the privilege of decision and honour of action as the essence of the prerogative of power which the village claims and shall establish as its centuries' old birth-right. This is the *Faith of Gramism*—the national faith of the villages and village worker millions of India.

II
GRAMISM
IS
THE IDEOLOGY OF
RURAL SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL FREEDOM

THE VILLAGE wants its own freedom for the organisation and development of the village community and village areas into compact productive and prosperous regions, and considers national freedom as the necessary foundation for its local and collective freedom and corporate reconstruction.

The VILLAGE had a distinctly homogeneous social life; and the system of co-operative effort and all-village collaboration for joint and collective work bound up the village in a corporate unity which surprised foreign visitors, and enthused Sir Lee Warner to write a book on the village community. The VILLAGE had a code of morals and a set of duties which regulated the conduct of its whole community. This spirit of social integrity and harmony permeated every household for domestic and village life. The VILLAGE had a common service, a common sentiment, and an intense regard for the commonweal, for justice and right. The privilege of authority and the good fortune of the land holder and the peasant were shared ceremoniously and cheerfully on an equitable basis with the craftsman, the trader, the artisan and the village services. *It was a socialism of sentiment selflessness service and sacrifice. It was a socialism of equitable distribution instead of forced deprivation.* This distribution was regulated by social sanction and local consent and was intensely democratic, as it operated on the *agreed will of the whole village community* in the interests of the village and all its citizens. This socialism of the VILLAGE was a moral beneficence and a cultural asset. It was an indigenous

expression of the social spirit and social duty evolved by India for its people living on the soil in detached and distant groups and working for their livelihood and progress. It is this ancient conception forgotten but still deeply embedded instinctively in every village, which *Gramism* aims to revive and recreate to rebuild village and national life in India. *Gramism* is village communism, and though it may not resemble orthodox communism, it will realise real communism, if the concrete work of communism and socialism are *equitable* apportionment of the incomes of production and burdens of state and social service and an economic order in which instruments of wealth, labour, soil, factory, finance, technical skill and directive ability—are controlled and regulated and taxed as if in a COPARCENARY in the interests of the whole community—the people—and the country, by STATE in co-operatives, collectives and corporations, and a *social system*, in which duty to work and contribute the maximum of one's will and efficiency and effort is attached to the right to receive the utmost services in education, equipment, health, amusements and culture; in which *status* is not measured by the bank—balance, but by the individual's contribution to the collective life, in which eminence is secured to the teacher and trainer and organiser of corporate thought, sentiment and action and *distinction* is assured to the savant, the scientist, the technician, the perfect worker, to the defender of *Gramism* and to the soldier of the country's independence and power. *Gramism* is an ideal in which every individual is a co-sharer and contributor, in the creation and conservation of wealth, power, culture and defence, in an ordered economy, where capitalism is controlled and profiteering is restricted by the State, in a State-Polity and a Social System, where the interests of the peasant, the intelligentsia and the working classes—the craftsman, the artisan, the mechanic, the technician,—the teacher, the soldier, the small trader, and shop-keeper—are *supreme*, and where finance, talent, labour and ability are secured and co-ordinated for the country's prosperity and power.

III
GRAMISM
IS
THE BELIEF OF THE VILLAGE IN ITS
RESURRECTION AND RENAISSANCE

GRAMISM teaches the village worker the doctrine of the supremacy of the rural worker—citizen and soldier, trains the village in the organisation and administration of corporate life and collective or co-operative economy in crafts, commerce, industry, trade and agriculture. *Gramism* awakens in the village worker and the village, a fresh consciousness of energy and potentiality, a country-wide outlook with a continental conception of needs and duties in national affairs, a liberality of feelings and revival of spirit and aspiration. *Gramism* inculcates trust in continuous endeavour, collective effort, commonweal, corporate justice and the power of Right and Duty. *Gramism* brings out from the grave of disintegration and decay, from the debris of despair and disbelief, the flower of hope and vision of achievement, and faith in a new destiny for the worker, the village and the country. It opens the dawn of a renovated life and a reconstructed socio-economic order and state, in which, the worker and the village will enjoy prestige dignity influence and determining power, and will use their decisive voice and will, sagaciously and prudently, for India's independence and wealth and power. *Gramism* is the belief of the worker and the village in the new life of resurrection and renaissance of social ethics, economic equity, culture, people's democracy and national unity.

IV
GRAMISM
IS
THE CONVICTION OF THE VILLAGE
IN ITS UNITY AND UTILITY
AND
ITS STRENGTH AND POWER

THE VILLAGE is practically the purveyor of every thing. It supplies food, fuel and fibre. It supplies the sinews of industry and defence. It pays directly and indirectly all the taxes and revenues for the State. It contributes to the enrichment of the financing classes. It derives the minimum of advantage for itself and its folk, and gives the maximum of benefit to the urban rich and rural land-owning and financing and trading classes. The village, which is essentially the creator of wealth, has become most impoverished and most helpless. The village worker must realise that he is the real agent of production and power; but owing to his isolation, individualism, inefficiency, indifference and inactivity, he has become a victim of exploitation and cunning and clever expropriation. For hundreds of years the village worker has become expropriated of his labours and produce and gains. The village worker must replace his curse of centuries with co-operativism and new life of collectivism. The village worker must reconstitute the village as a corporation and link it up in a chain of action and power, in areas and regions, in a national system of economy and polity, administration and defence. The village worker must fully appreciate the basic unity of village life and the paramount utility of the village, as a cultural and pivotal political factor. The village worker must appraise the civic and administrative strength and the economic and military power of the village. This realisation by the village worker

must become a comprehension collectively of the whole village, and the lakhs of Indian villages, and in such a conviction of the villages in their unity, utility, strength and power, *Gramism* seeks to recreate a New India.

V
GRAMISM
IS
THE CONFIDENCE OF THE VILLAGE
IN ITS AUTONOMY AND HEGEMONY

THE reconstitution of the VILLAGE as a self administering unit, the organisation of the village folks as social and economic agents into an economic whole, the reconstruction of the cultural, ethical and social life of villages, and the integration and incorporation of villages in areas and regions, for political and economic action, as well as territorial and national defence, are the solvents of the liquidation of the age-long inertia and inaction. *Gramism charges the village worker to assume and establish and operate the autonomy of the village and the hegemony of incorporated villages in the Rural Commonwealth of a Sovereign India. Gramism is the expression of this new confidence of village peoples in their autonomy and hegemony which shall be their new birthright and their new possession.*

VI.
GRAMISM
IS
A FORCE OF PASSIVE STRENGTH
AND ACTIVE ACTION

THE village workers, imbibed with *Gramism* and organised into village effectives, will prove omnipotent for enforcing their interests and will, in the country, for local and regional as well as domestic and foreign affairs. Their refusal of submission to any '*order*' except a system and a state of their own creation, their resistance to dictation and domination, their determination to activate democracy, and their disciplined '*will*' to co-ordinate, combine and act in concert, will constitute *an invincible force* for India, for national reconstruction and defence, against political, economic and military sabotage, domination or exploitation.

VII
GRAMISM
IS
AN ORGANISATION OF NATIONAL POWER

GRAMISM seeks to harness for its cause the energy and mind of the masses in villages. The greatest power is the power of enlightened and disciplined peoples working in their own self-interest and acting consciously for achievements which they have appreciated and approved. It is this sense of power, this conception of its invincibility, and this comprehension of its capacity for conquest which *Gramism* inspires in the village and its worker millions. *Gramism*, in organising the village worker and the village, is organising the industry incentive and initiative of the village for nationalism and rural socialism. *Gramism* awakens, co-ordinates, controls and enthuses this power of India's three hundred and fifty millions rural peoples for political and economic reconstruction, and becomes in consequence a remarkable organisation and institution of peoples' power and an effective instrument of securing and enforcing the peoples' interests, rights and will in the State and the country.

VIII.
GRAMISM
IS
THE HEART OF INDIA

GRAMISM has designed its edifice of idealism and achievement on the pivot of the village. The village is sunk in discord and distress, and the country reflects it. The village has suffered abysmal penury and misery, and the country mirrors it. The prosperity of towns and cities is a mockery, and the plenty of the rich has become a perversity. The village has lost its unity, its solidarity and its strength, and the country looks a cactus growth of factions and divisions. The village has lost its spirit of oneness and service and sacrifice, and the country has become devoid of sentiment or pride of nationhood. The village is the heart of India and every Asiatic country. It has become weak and diseased and enervated. It must be revived and renovated. *The resurrection of the Indian Village is the rebirth of India as an invincible world power for peace and restoration of Indian peoples to impregnable prosperity and generous noble nationhood. Gramism in symbolising the supremacy of the Village is the Heart of India.*

IX
GRAMISM
IS
THE VOICE OF INDIA'S RURAL WORKERS :
THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION
MASSES OF RURAL PEOPLES

THE rural workers need and demand enlightenment, efficiency, equipment and enrichment. They require self-administration and self-organization. They need a new social order and a corporate and collective economic reconstruction. They demand a just and harmonious code of social conduct and personal living and domestic life. They require the inspiration of inherent and universal ethical principles and new moral values. They require inhibition of national purposes and principles and they want a universal policy and programme of country-wide and comprehensive measures for their renaissance and prosperity. They need autonomy and corporation. They require political democracy and equitable economic reconstruction. They want a state in which their voice is decisive and their will is determinative and inviolable, their sanction is unimpeachable and their action is invincible. As Gramism expresses all this, it is the only voice of the masses of India.

X
GRAMISM
IS
THE ENERGY OF MANHOOD

GRAMISM creates manhood. Manhood acts boldly and firmly. Manhood never slinks or fears. Manhood never tolerates wrong. Manhood endures martyrdom for Right. Manhood battles for honour and dies in duty. Manhood disdains indulgence and lethargy and indifference. Manhood worships enthusiasm, activity and restraint. It is such a true, sturdy, loyal, straight-forward, honest, and industrious virile manhood that must make the village the playground for its energy and nobility. It is from such a fine manhood that *Gramism* expects its fulfilment. The *cause* of *Gramism* is the inspiration of the village, and its plan and programme embraces the work and ambition of village worker millions. *Gramism* is the energy of creation of the manhood of villages of India.

XI
GRAMISM
IS
THE SOUL OF WOMANHOOD

THE woman is the symbol of the nation. To the Indian woman the home is the heaven, and the family the acme of bliss. In domestic life she expects her fulfilment. "OURS"—is the heritage of woman. The soul of woman is instinctively a collective soul, and her spirit is a co-operative enduring sacrificing spirit. Self-denial and love are her birth right. Purity of living and nobility of sentiment are her privileges. Worship of heroism is the essence of her being, and it is the worship of courage, of chivalry, of justice, and of right for a selfless deed, for common interest, for the village's glory and for country's protection and power. Her life is a dedication, and her labours are an offering. It is this ideal of gift of living and labour and life that *Gramism* expects to project for the village, the region and the country. It is the sanctity of womanhood as a mother, as a sister, as a wife, as a daughter that *Gramism* desires to infiltrate in the whole people for nationalism and village power and India's freedom, security and prosperity, preserving the sacredness of the home and family, ennobling it with idealism, and enriching it with common endeavour, for collective beneficence and national contribution and sacrifice. *Gramism*, in its ideology of collective well-being and national service, through its principles, purposes, policy and programme, desires to embody and express the Soul of India's Womanhood, in all its fidelity and devotion, its service and charity, its dignity and grace, in all its poetry, power, purity, and sublimity of sacrifice.

XII

GRAMISM

IS

THE LIFE OF YOUTH

FOR nearly a century there has been no *youth* in India. For several generations there has been no aspiration and no adventure, no yearning and no climbing, no selfless impulsion, no impersonal incentive, no chivalry and no romance. Life in India became a stagnant marsh submerged in the caste-pool. The men and women of India grew up atrophied in mind and muscle, in emotion, imagination and endeavour. On the verge of social abyss, the educational impetus of Macaulay's Minute, the impact of European thought, the stirrings of social conscience inspired by lofty souls like Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Pandita Ramabai and Syed Ahmed, the active and militant reforms of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi, awakened a new spirit of Right and Justice, and impregnated a new resolve to serve and suffer and sacrifice for a noble cause. To the youth a new vista unfolded itself. Desire for freedom from political subjection, sense of humiliation at national subjugation and alien domination, and agony for the cruel economic exploitation impelled in the minds of youth a deep resentment which found expression in the bomb and the secret society. The wells of life were being poisoned by anarchism and ruthless repression. With unerring perception, Gandhiji broke the spell of peoples' fear of administrative atrocity by releasing mass-action, and brought the revolutionary urge on the surface, restoring courage and heroism to men and women, and pointing to youth the path of suffering and of sacrifice for a cause.

The mind of youth awakened from the torpor of generations, heard the message of service, but sought in vain

for action, that may appease their national hunger for achievement of their legitimate dreams for the conquest of new life and power. The spirit of youth sought for truth and light. The message of Marx came with a shocking fierceness with the Russian revolution, and the achievements of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin have evoked strange hankerings for experimenting the Russian adventure in India. What can prevent its triumph in a multi-million mass of impoverished, ignorant, inexperienced, peasant peoples, artisans and workers ?

But *Gramism* offers to youth exactly the adventure they seek. *Gramism* offers the youth that achievement for their zeal for masses' liberation that they may seek. *Gramism* offers to youth a world for conquest and a mission of Asiatic dimensions. *Gramism* gives the youth innumerable fields for all their creative energy—the glorious luxury of the romance of resurrecting the village from its grave of sloth and slavery and the daring enterprise of organising a *revolution* of minds, motives, purposes, aims, standards and values in the life and living and labour of three quarter million villages and the work and worth of nearly three hundred and fifty millions of humanity. What work could be nobler than welding the peoples of India, living together in the village, and living on the mother earth in a common life of universal labour and share, into a virile and proud nationhood. *Gramism* enables the youth the fulfilment of their spirit to establish real democracy and to win independence by sheer force of preparation. *Gramism* gives the youth the conquest of constructing in the villages the instruments of political power and economic emancipation. *Gramism* gives to the youth the indomitable spirit and mission of the crusade, and enthralls youth with the music of a million miles countryside, rich in the song of chivalry and wealth, powerful in its new manhood, noble in its new womanhood, resonant with its new faith and its new energy and creation. *Gramism* endows the youth with a faith and a synthesis, and a vast work, which may rival in results the miracle of the Soviet accomplishment in Russia, and may even make India a pointer to the U.S.S.R. as a paradise

of the worker who forged his destiny preferring assimilation to extermination. *Gramism* gives to youth the task of building a heritage for their children, and *Gramism*, in its fascination and fulfilment, shall be the *life of the youth of India*.

XIII

GRAMISM

IS

RENAISSANCE

GRAMISM affects the life of the multi-millions of peoples living in the villages. It is not merely a revival movement. It is a recall from the past and a new call for the future. It is primarily a liberation of the mind from the atrophy of a whole century's abject dependence for everything on the British administration. It is not merely an awakening into rights. It is a realisation of the function and the value of the village and the village worker in the polity and the economy of the country. It is a consciousness of the strength and the potentiality of self-organisation, self-sufficiency, self-administration, self-discipline, self-defence and self-direction. It is the village workers' energy in action for reorganising the village community, for reconstructing the economic life of the area and the region, for remodelling the social and civic life of village people, for recasting the administrative system, for re-establishing local self-administering authority in villages areas and regions on the basis of autonomy and direct democracy interlinked for collaboration. co-ordination and concentration in all political and socio-economic work in the country and the State.

But it is something much more than political or economic gain. It is the opening of the heart to new sympathies, new sentiments, new harmonies, new feelings, new emotions and a new social sense, giving a new purpose and pride—that is the essence of *Gramism*. It is the instilling of new duties and new motives which is the mission of *Gramism*. It is this gift of a new outlook and a new world of adventure and achievement that is the merit of *Gramism*, which seeks to impart a new confidence and

a new courage. *Gramism is essentially a moral principle, the merger of individual interest in the totality of the village community and the country's interest, the assimilation of the individual, the group, the unit, into the corporation, the subordination of self-interest to public good and need, the substitution of individualism and isolationism by co-operativism and collectivism, the contribution of individuals for social beneficence and national prosperity, the sacrifice of each for collective security and national power. Gramism is fundamentally an ethical and cultural renaissance. This is its mystery and that shall be its mastery. Gramism is this national resurgence of a liberated people and militant Villages. It is an institution of the socio-economic, political and cultural resuscitation and reconstruction of the three hundred and fifty millions of village workers. It is a rebirth of the spirit and a recreation of the will to work and power of the village and its worker multi-millions. Gramism is the resurrection of the Village into energy, harmony, authority and affluence.*

XIV
GRAMISM
IS
THE POWER OF INDIA
AND
THE DESTINY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLES

GRAMISM has planned the complete structure of the *community* of the seven hundred and fifty thousand Villages of India in their own Commonwealth. To-day these villages are motiveless, motionless, nerveless and soulless. But *Gramism* has planned their four-fold attainment of enlightenment, efficiency, equipment and enrichment. Its basis is autonomy and hegemony, democracy and rural supremacy. Its supreme faith is the united will of the villages and village workers for and in the SOCOVIREIN. Its inviolable method is combination, co-ordination, concentration to create and operate the *gramist synthesis* in India, and light the path of China and Persia. Its sacred doctrine is COPARCENARY with its four pillars—organisation, discipline, co-operativism and collective action. *Gramism* is organising the might of the villages for a reconquest of India's place in the Sun and Civilisation. When even a score of individuals, perfectly organised and sworn to discipline for a concrete objective, can be an effective force, an entire village united in aim and effort with organised direction and regulated work must be a power. The tremendous potentiality and possibilities of some three quarter million villages, working in harmony for a new order of life, labouring for a system, which secures culture, economic equity, self-sufficiency, protection, self-respect, authority, dignity, autonomy, political power, national security and sovereignty, in the governance of the country, can only be imagined to think of the social

solidarity, economic reconstruction and people's democratic and defence power that may be established. The confidence that is born of the possession of competence and comfort in millions and millions will be a dynamo by itself. The social revolution that must be shaped out of these labours of one generation for achieving *Gramism* shall be a torch for civilisation, and *Gramism*, in giving to every one of the village-workers multi-millions—a duty and a dream—aspires to the restoration of the peasant and the worker, and the village and all India to prosperity and power.

Gramism is this practical organisation of the patriotism, mind, initiative, enterprise, courage, duty, labour and resources of the village-workers for remaking the VILLAGE and reconstituting the State and Society in India. *Gramism* is the preparation of the spirit and will of the VILLAGE—men and women—for establishing and achieving and preserving their own prosperity, security and power. *Gramism* endows autonomy and democracy with central direction, regional collaboration and collective will and action. It seeks to reconstitute the village as a complete governmental authority and agency. *It builds up the pyramid of political defence and economic security, and national power, on the village base.* Basing authority at the bottom and raising it to co-ordinated power at the top, it constitutes a perfect democracy in spirit and action. Endowing the village with status and authority, it fixes responsibility and duty on all the millions of village-workers. The political consciousness of direct experience and participation, as local and areal and regional authorities, in legislation, administration, economic reconstruction and defence, in regional regulations and local rules, in the enforcement of work, discipline and order, in the framing and operation of national policies and economic plans, and in the checking and control of executives and parliamentary agencies and autonomous authorities, ensures reasonable criticism, rational judgment and responsible action in the smallest and highest efforts of the country.

Gramism is thus in its graded authority and action, the institution of village hegemony for national conservation and conquest for the triple objects of economic reconstruction, practical nationalism and village socialism, forged out of the traditions, institutions and conventions of centuries in India and adopted to modern conditions. It is hence universally representative of the interests and will for prosperity and security of all Indian peoples. *It is the vital unifying force and impregnating cement for consolidating the essential unity of all Indian peoples living under the same sun, labouring on the same soil, and suffering the same handicaps, ills and misfortunes, and aspiring to security and prosperity, national freedom and power and international authority and prestige. It is the real maker of a true Indian nationhood expressing itself in ASSIMILATION in preference to EXTERMINATION in building a new socio-economic fabric and the State.*

Gramism by this community of aim and action in the life of the Indian peoples in the whole country as expressed in its eternal principles, purposes and policy, and by operating a concrete plan and a comprehensive programme, leaving nothing for disputation and disharmony, minimising even rivalries to efficiency and integrity in carrying out the work of *Gramism* to its fruition, and endowing the vast masses of people with a non-controversial and universally acceptable faith in the structure of a State on an equitable and just socio-economic foundations, giving to the peoples of all creeds and communities, the privilege of labour and work, for gain for self and society, and honourable partnership and participation in the prosperity of the country and all the affairs of the State, establishes a real unity of mind, motives, interests and necessities, for creating and securing the new political and economic order and cultural renaissance, and *assures a true socialism suitable to the genius of the Indian peoples.*

Gramism in giving power to the peasant, the artisan, the craftsman, the shopkeeper, the small shroff, the teacher, the mechanic, the expert and the adviser in the affairs of the country, from the village to the supreme central

organs of power, secures prudence and economy, sagacity and realism, farsightedness and wisdom, vision and statesmanship, for stability of state and an enduring social order, enabling political and economic privilege to each worker, and prosperity to every village and town, power to the state, prestige to the country and peace with neighbouring states. *Gramism* in enunciating and operating the *principle of village power* and acclaiming this *faith of the village worker*, in his own prerogatives and duties, for his village and for the country, and for creating *an equitable social order and a new economic organisation and reconstruction and in thus constituting a Commonwealth of Villages in a Sovereign INDIA* ensures the countrywide basis of Indian sovereignty. In the *faith*, the *hope* and the *work* that *Gramism* inspires, it shall generate a *moral power* and *social energy* that must create the *United Indian Nationhood* and the impregnable *Gramist State* founded on economic justice, social equity, democratic militarisation, and peoples' polity, as *Gramism* supplies the cementing idealism and the creative ambition which will make all the ancient Indian peoples strive for the realisation of a *new destiny* in the world and ultimately achieve the historic marvel of a noble fusion of four great religions—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Buddhism—in universal ethics of human conduct and welfare, and perform their mission of a supreme culture of co-operation and harmony for human beneficence.

XV

GRAMISM AND THE STATE AND SOCIAL ORDER

IT is extremely difficult to define in detail the structure of the state and the new social order that may be created by *Gramism*. It will depend on the circumstances of the growth of *Gramism* and the conditions under which it conquers power, enough and effective, to enable it to constitute its polity and economy, but it shall certainly be subject to the fixed fundamentals of the entire Gramist synthesis. Its creed clearly announcing the establishment of the SOCOVIREIN is an indication of the essence and the spirit as well as the form and function of this Gramist State and its Social Order.

The pertinent problem is whether *Gramism* will tend to establish a Corporate State or a Communist State or a Democratic Capitalistic State. If its growth is unhindered by capitalistic or imperialistic or communistic obstacles and obstructions, *Gramism* will evolve a peculiar state polity in which instead of the domination of the capitalist and the landlord with the exploitation-minded intelligentsia and bourgeoisie, there shall be the predominance of the peasant and the worker, the cultivator, the artisan, the craftsman, the mechanic, the teacher, the clerk, the small tradesman, the petty banker and the labourer.

In the Gramist State the purpose of democracy which is to secure the power of the masses for their own well-being shall be ensured, and its parliamentary perversion where democracy is exploited by vested interests for their exploitation of the millions, for the wealth and influence of the few, shall be discounted. In the Gramist State all trades, crafts, industries, occupations, professions, business shall have representation through their guilds or corporations or chambers and associations, and villages shall have representation through their village bodies and village workers.

In the Gramist State, the well being of the country as a whole shall be the sole criterion for legislation, policy and administration, and village prosperity and power shall be the paramount consideration. The Gramist State will be an amalgamation of the best in the experiences of Americanism, Britishism, Fascism, Nazism, Kemalism and Sovietism, unless forces compel the acceptance of pure Sovietism which is the only alternative to this amalgam.

In the Gramist Social Order the family shall be sacred, and domestic life shall be consonant with obligations and duties to the village, the nation and the country. Labour shall be a duty, and sloth and indifference shall be censured and prevented. The worker shall be respected and privileged, and the worker alone shall have honour and esteem in state and society. Wealth shall be regarded as an agent of the state and a servant of the nation and not as a master. The right of the worker to bread, raiment and roof, and to control politics, prices and policies shall be secured. Justice and co-operation shall be the maxim. Competition for corporate activities and collective action in village service and urban duties and national life shall be the motive force. Hospitality and courtesy shall be the test of manners; courage, integrity and fair play shall be the rural and national character; and sacrifice and chivalry alone shall be the mark of true nobility.

In *Gramism*, the social order will be founded on the principle of assimilation and not extermination, with the object of collective comfort and prosperity of the whole community against the system of exploitation and profiteering. The social services and public amenities shall be universally available, and their control shall be democratic. Contribution to the State and community for local, areal, regional, provincial and national works and services and security shall be universal, but graded and apportioned equitably. Food, garment and shelter shall not be denied to any one provided the individual works; and wages shall be according to the talent ability skill or quantity required provided the work is rendered with devotion to the cause

and has the required efficiency and quality. None who declines to work or give services can claim the benefit of social services. The aged and the infirm shall be provided for by their guilds or village communities or the industries and corporations. Education, physical training and hygiene will be universal. Military and economic service shall be compulsory. Profiteering by individuals, groups or corporations shall be limited and restricted by laws or regulations. Finance, industry and agriculture shall be the trust of the State for all peoples for advancing the prosperity of each village and the power of all India. Exports and imports as also international payments and engagements shall be under the absolute control of the State. Accumulation of wealth shall be subject to its control by the State for the benefit of the people and the whole country. The capitalist and land lord may retain his possessions subject to the trusteeship of the Gramist State in the interests of the country and the whole nation. None shall retain or have any monopoly of finance or its power of mischief against the Gramist Synthesis. The capitalist or land-lord will survive as a citizen, only if he is agreeable to the position of a trusted administrator receiving a share in the profits, in place of a salary. The sacred right of private property can be continued; but in its exercise and effect, this sacred right of private property has become the ignoble prerogative of exploitation of the weak and the helpless, and this exclusiveness and exploitation must be eradicated. Private property and possession shall be guaranteed upto a reasonable limit—say, fetching an income up to not less than the Congress standard of Rs. 500 a month, or even more, according to the needs of the situation. In the economic sphere, the corporation, the co-operative, and the collective may be co-ordinated for securing the maximum of wealth, materials and needs for the fulfilment of *Gramism* and its complete achievements. The social order shall perfectly be a balanced system of equitable distribution of gains and materials and services and must be helped to succeed, or the inevitable consequence can only be the Soviet system of socio-economics.

PART VII
GRAMISM
AND THE
INTERNATIONAL ORDER

I. GRAMISM AND ITS FOES

GRAMISM has internal as well as foreign dangers. The internal dangers are the vested interests and the foreign dangers are the aggressive states. These vested interests are manifold. The Ruling Princes and Chiefs have a hereditary and dynastic interest in exclusive possession of political power and personal authority. The Zamindars, the Talukdars, the Inamdars and Land holders, having lived on the fat of the soil and the sweat of the cultivator, resent any 'regulation' even of their impious loot. The capitalists—high finance and big industry—have international allies and foes, and their patriotism is conditional on the perpetuation of their exploitation. The merchant classes and the upper middle classes look up to the capitalist as their model, and measure their duties to the country and the State on the basis of their pocket-filling. The trading and shop-keeping classes have grown out of the lower middle class and aspire to the upper regions of capitalism.

These classes have a peculiar patriotism which worships self and profits, in preference to the nation or the country, and they will struggle to obstruct every measure and system, which denies or restricts their right to profits, which is little less than the right to robbery under a system which regards exploitation as a just claim, and which attempts to blind the people to these horrors of injustice by charity and philanthropy within an unreal democratic framework. The capitalist and merchant classes have a definite creed of "grab, get and gain" anywhere and any how. Have they any country except capital, any family except their account books, agreements and vouchers, any home except their shops, their offices, their banks and vaults? Is it their fault? That is their tradition and temperament—the heritage of ages of exploitation inspite of all the highest

teachings of true religion, and the highest functions of true governments for the peoples. Yes, they have no frontiers and no barriers. The last Great War disclosed to the world how the armament manufacturers of the warring countries honestly and blatantly supplied munitions and guns and rifles equally and impartially to nationals and national enemies. It was the cruellest revelation which the United States dared to investigate. If India is in danger, the capitalists' first concern will be, not the sanctity of the Indian soil but the security of their wealth. Shrewdly they will manœuvre themselves in positions, where they can secure most secret information and manipulate intrigue behind the scenes to enable the fullest exploitation at the minimum risk. Some may even be found who will surreptitiously seek favour with the rebel and the invader and the aggressor in the temptation of securing special privileges for exploitation, if and when, the rebel and aggressor win. Such traders in the shame and freedom of their country, these profiteers in the nation's calamities, these gain gourmets out of the people's misfortunes are traitors to society and the State and deserve the fate of the criminals guilty of treason. Treason is not merely political or administrative but there is also economic treason and it is the most shameful and subtle for it masquerades as duty under the safety of law. But, there are industrial and financial patriots too. Jamshedji Tata, Premchand Roychand, Chinubhai Madhavlal, Vithaldas Thakarsi, Sorabji Pochkhanwalla, Taraknath Palit, Rajendranath Mukerjee, and Rash Behari Ghosh, Kirloskar Bros., N. M. Wadia, Lalubhai Samaldas, the Peerbhoys and Currimbhoys are names which will be remembered as pioneers and philanthropists. There has been only one Bhamasha of Chitod-Udaipur of Mewar in Rajputana who gave all his treasure of billion gold for the freedom and security of his country; but the race of Jaichand and Umechand—the egoist traitor-prince and the corrupt knave—is alive and will always be active. *Gramism* ordains that wealth is a mission and entails the heaviest duties towards the peoples and the country.

Gramism expects that the rich and the middle classes of India will falsify this *alien* reputation of the *carnivorism of capital*, and by assimilation and willing assistance, imbibing the inner true spirit of Hinduism and Islam, prove that Indian capitalism can be a creative force willingly sacrificing its monopoly for the people and the country, and that capitalists can be good patriots in the building of the new structure of Society and State.

But these classes, if they refuse to appreciate the value of *Gramism* will be a danger. Will they realise that *Gramism* is the middle course and the only alternative between communism and capitalism, and support it with their sympathies, understanding and actions to prove their claims as patriots and friends of India and the masses?

II

The *princes* and *land holders* are a distinct class. Theirs is an ancient heritage and they have traditions of service. They claim sentiments of honour and sacrifice. If they grab, they also give away liberally. They are heirs to the ideal of magnanimity and might. They and their peoples have lived and suffered and prospered since generations. Their associations have deep foundations in the hoary past of centuries. They have a love of soil and incentive for glory born out of blood-baths where men and women gave body and blood cheerfully and freely for principles, sentiments, privileges and duties. Their power has been sealed with the blood of the battle-field and not the cunning of the law or the counter. Insecurity, danger and necessity *coalesced* the prince, the chief, and the zamindar with his village peoples for their mutual preservation and protection. But more than one hundred years of guaranteed security by the British power, which wanted internal tranquillity for its trade and commerce and political dominion and economic exploitation, have blurred their past and atrophied their finer senses and spirit. The first generation after the British treaties retained their associations and traditions with their peoples. The second

generation had only memories, and had heard of people's and prince's co-operation and co-partnership in song and stories. The third generation lost the tradition, the sentiment and the spirit completely, and became merely collectors of revenue and administrative heads without souls. The fourth and the present generation has sought indulgence and has become tainted with the vice of capitalism and has grafted the evil of exploitation to political or revenue authority. But they also meet now with the new impact of movements and revolts and are awakening to face a new factual situation.

It is exactly at this point that *Gramism* should have a positive appeal for all that is best and noblest in them. *Gramism* does not 'aim' at the abolition of princes or land-holders, but it does seek the assimilation of the peoples in large and small states, in the enlightenment, prosperity and political and economic privileges of the provincial districts. *Gramism* does desire, that the prince and the chief and the land-holder shall be the custodian of the people's power and the honour of the country, and shall not be like a capitalistic exploitor. *Gramism* expects the prince, the chief and the zamindar to emulate the glory of the sacrifices of the SAMURAI in Japan and of Kemal Ata Turk and the Turk nobility and intelligentsia for their country's power and good; and *Gramism* hopes that these old aristocrats with their instincts, temperaments and traditions can be the best envoys directives and aids in the internal and international affairs of India. *Gramism* only can ensure them a place in the future of the country in its vast fields of reconstruction and achievement. *Gramism* will hope that they shall seek security in the hearts of the peoples of India in preference to the guarantee of the British authority whose soldier and civilian is ever ready with bayonet and the pen to intimidate and compel their acquiescence in its policies. *Partnership with the peoples and a share with the peasants and workers in the sovereignty of India must be their new principle of power and action.* The vassalage of paramountcy for the benefit of British finance and

British domination will only be their temporary refuge for a brief respite in the march of action by *Gramism*. If they fail in this historic task, in this new mission, they shall meet the doom in the YADAVASTHALEE—the *revolution*—their resistance and alliance with imperialism and capitalism shall provoke and precipitate. They must choose prudently with foresight and patriotism, and let the spirit of selflessness and sacrifice and chivalry of their ancient forbears guide and light them into the Faith—*Gramism* and the SOCOVIREIN.

III

These are the two internal dangers for any universal reconstruction of the polity and social order in India. But there are other foreign dangers. The first is Japan, the second is Germany and the third is Italy. Japan has an expansionist policy and it is seen in action since the seizure of Manchuria and the invasion of China. This is only the first step towards Australia, Indo-China and India. Japan's economic policy of under-selling in foreign markets is still more disintegrating. This economic penetration is dangerous because it creates an internal vested interest which will attempt to influence authorities and may ally with Japan in an emergency and provide a false plea to Japan to intercede and interfere in the internal affairs of India for the preservation of its exports. Similarly, Germany is a potential danger. German industry seeks materials and markets. Its eyes are on the undeveloped resources of Arabia, Iran and India. Its commercial policy of barter with the countries of South and Central Europe has implied the economic vassalage of these countries. In the wake of economic arrangements, comes political interference and tutelage through internal intrigue and threats as evidenced in Germany's action in Austria and Czechoslovakia*; and its ally—Italy—has proved its hunger in its conquest of Abyssinia and its annexation of Albania. Africa appears

* The invasion and occupation of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and especially France and the intercession in Spain and Balkans are revealing proofs of the technique of provoking internal sabotage and national treachery.

to be their prey at the moment but Rome was once mistress of Egypt and the Near East, and it is sought to revive the lost imperial dream.

IT WILL BE A SAD MISTAKE TO IMAGINE THAT INDIA SHALL BE LEFT ALONE BY THESE THREE POWERS. The weakening of British power without the organisation of India's strength will enable Japan, Germany and Italy to intrigue penetrate and secure spheres of influence and authority. Iran—Persia—before Reza Shah Pehlvi was for fifty years the field for Russian, British and German activities to secure privileges and dominant influence. China and Spain have met with a similar fate. The selfishness of some princes and some capitalists may facilitate foreign interference. *India Must Beware*. Every Indian must understand and learn that India can live and thrive as an independent country and a free people only by its own organised strength, by its cohesive action, by its national unity. *Gramism* offers the only security against every foreign threat, because *Gramism* does not attempt the substitution of the authority of the Indian vested interests for the British vested interests, but seeks to create a national state of the people expressing their voice and acting their will through the institutions of the millions of peasants, workers, artisans, craftsmen and the large lower middle classes, because *Gramism* seeks to transfer power completely to the people and to interest and train the masses directly in the security of their power, because *Gramism* will mobilise the masses for socio-economic, political and national defence by converting every village into a fortress of resistance to every attack against its sovereignty and supremacy and by erecting an interlinked zig-zag, Maginot—Siegfried line of half a million villages—self-sufficient and self-directing—supplying men, materials, and munitions, preserving intact their economy, maintaining order and co-ordinating efficiently in resistance with determination pertinacity and faith on a thousand fronts, while concentrating on crushing revolt or insurrection and repelling aggression or invasion from abroad. The security of India lies in *Gramism*, and

Gramism alone, as every village will be a brigade and every village worker, a soldier and a mechanic and a faithful defender of the holy soil of India and the new economic order and polity that he will establish on Village Power in the Gramist State of SOCOVIREIN.

II. GRAMISM AND ITS FRIENDS

INDIA is situated in a peculiarly favourable position in the world. She is in the midst of four continents—Australia, Asia, Africa and Europe. The producing and purchasing power of her peoples is immeasurable. Her potentiality as a great military power is incalculable. India's political and social conditions have natural consequences for the whole world. Political instability in India will certainly provoke temptations to interfere in its internal affairs. Weakness of its central and supreme authorities in government will tempt encroachments on her sovereignty and territorial integrity. Indian patriots should always keep before their minds the instances of Spain and China on the one hand, and Russia on the other hand, and realise, that *in no case and under no circumstances, should India permit or tolerate any external interference or intercession in her internal affairs and national problems.* Any Indian who acts against this cardinal principle, must be treated as a traitor to the nation. But this cannot mean that India should have no friends or allies or connections. She has natural friends—China, Iran, Arabia have been her age-long friends,—who have drawn inspiration and knowledge from mutual contacts for a *cultural harmony*, which prevails in the orient since immemorial times. Her commercial contacts extended all over the countries washed by the Indian Ocean and particularly with Siam, Java, Sumatra, Arabia and Egypt. Burma, Ceylon, Tibet and Afghanistan are her next door neighbours. The Himalayas and the Hindukush have been her impregnable bastions, and Nepal has been her most peaceful friend since centuries. Afghanistan has a chequered story. As Gandhar Desh, it was part of Maha Bharata or Greater India, and it was perhaps a part of the Magadh Empire. The Mahomedan monarchs who came with their hordes and ruled at Delhi did not forego their Afghan patrimony, and Afghanistan was a satrapy of the Moguls, and Indian

armies led by Hindu Rajput Princes were often sent by the Emperors of Delhi to subjugate and punish the local Mahomedan governors who had revolted. Afghanistan cannot afford to be an enemy of a United and Powerful India. She must be India's closest ally like Nepal, Burma and Ceylon. In fact, Iran, Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon with India in the centre form a *strategic unity* as they are mutually and closely interested in the security of each against any foreign invasion or political or economic aggression. But the real security points for India and all these countries are Singapore and Aden. An independent India must claim and control Singapore and Aden, and consider Siam, the East Indies, Iraq and Arabia within her 'circle of security.'

But as the history of India develops, she will find her greatest friends in Britain and Soviet Russia for active aid in her financial or political or international affairs. The relations of India with Britain and Soviet Russia must be a matter of closest concern for every Indian statesman and patriot. The political structure and social order in each are contra-distinct, but they are both vitally interested in India and the basic foreign policy of India should be friendship, commerce, contracts and alliance with both. That way alone, India can retain her balance and secure internal tranquillity and peace in Asia without disturbance. There is nothing impracticable in this proposition. Britain after standing off for some twenty years has found it necessary to seek Soviet Russia's co-operation and aid in her policy of "appeasement without aggression." For India, the support of Soviet Russia is essential as Britain is far away and her naval and air communications may be dislocated; but the very fact that Soviet Russia will stand by India for her sovereignty, security and independence will keep away the invader and aggressor. The power and resources of Soviet Russia are indefinite and are concentrated in a continued cohesive area in single sovereignty. The position of Britain is isolated by air might. Though the polity and economy of both are the opposite of each other, both have a world significance and

influence. Britain's defeat will not merely be a defeat of democracy but an enslavement of Africa and Australia. Soviet Russia's defeat will be not merely the debacle of a new social and political experiment but the death of the hope of humanity to escape from the clutches of that carnivorous beast—capitalistic economy. The preservation of both are essential for the equilibrium of world forces. India has a definite place in this equilibrium and *Gramism* expects to make India the balancing rod between the British and Soviet scales. Both countries can be real friends and safe allies of India. Soviet Russia does not desire an inch of alien territory. Britain has enough and can have no more. Both seek only the preservation and development of their institutions and economy within their own borders. Communism has ceased to be aggressive with the elimination of Trotsky and the stabilisation of the Stalin Order. Britain adopts socialistic measures within her capitalistic state, and in her Commonwealth, Australia and New Zealand are the most socialist states. India, must therefore, in forming her future, take what is best in Britain and Soviet Russia, and *Gramism* is the completest synthesis of all that is finest and progressive, fruitful and dynamic in both. Consequently *Gramism* wishes that India should have Britain and Soviet Russia as her two best friends and allies.

III GRAMISM AND BRITAIN

It is necessary that the position and the relations of *Gramism* with Britain be clarified. These will depend on the reaction of Britain to *Gramism*, the Gramist synthesis and Gramist achievements. Britain should have nothing to worry about *Gramism*, if she genuinely desires to see India develop into a Strong self-governing entity with a United People and a Powerful Central Authority, if she is prepared to concede to India the prerogative of sovereignty which is India's birth-right, and permit Indian patriots and peasants to frame their own polity and found their own socio-economic structure without handicap or hindrance or interference or disturbance. If Britain does not insist on imposing her wishes and interests on India, there can be no reason for any quarrel or severance. However, if Britain thinks of full *self-government* for India in terms of a *century*, she must realise that India thinks of *independence* in a *decade*. *Gramism* seeks to fulfil this aspiration.

Gramism is practical and desires to evolve a politico-economic structure with the minimum of friction with Britain. If Britain has retained the sagacity and foresight its ruling class had in the Georgian and Victorian periods, she will not mind what is the internal polity or constitution of India nor can she claim to intercede in the economic reconstruction and changes in the social order. *It is for the masses of India to determine for themselves their own System of Government and Society, and the Masses of India are in the Villages. The claim of the Villages to constitute their own Supreme and Sovereign Authority in India for Government Administration Reconstruction and Defence is natural and unimpeachable.* Britain has accepted and declared this principle of self-determination in world affairs and if she prefers to evade it for preservation of her dominance in India, the only alternative for India will be to

strive for complete break-up with Britain. It may be surmised that Britain will not commit the blunder of losing India as she lost America, and will try to treat India as she has treated Canada, Australia, South Africa and Ireland. It is however argued that Britain's dominion over India means her world-power, and that she will not allow India that freedom in which India may not continue as her economic and military reservoir. This is correct, yet if Britain would have France with whom she contemplated even a Franco-British Act of Union and possibly Russia, with their resources as allies, she can certainly have India with her resources as her *independent ally*. But if Britain wants India as an agent or instrument for her own aggrandisement and world domination, Indians will refuse to co-operate in this varnished slavery.

The basis for all policies of India is freedom of action and voluntary co-operation and not compulsion or coercion in her relations with Britain. The two material determining factors of foreign policies and relations must ever be utility and necessity. But if Britain is obstructionist and delaying through clever prevarications, postponements and perversions she will find India indifferent to Britain's interests and welfare. Britain can promote the path of *Gramism* and secure an abiding goodwill and sympathy for British interests from India and her village and town masses and middle classes. But if Britain expects the continuance of her tutelage and paramountcy over India in her affairs of Government and reconstruction, and foreign relations, she will find India resentful and resisting to the point of revolt. At the same time, other countries, who think of profiting out of India's discontent with Britain or exploiting the international situation in India, for securing ground for intrigue and interference in Indian affairs, will find to their utter disillusionment and discomfiture, that India will any day in all circumstances prefer settling her affairs with Britain herself without any foreign aid. If it is a question of only *exchange* of domination and subjugation, *India will not tolerate any foreigner whatever and may prefer Britain.* and

even her conservative radicalism for the simple reason, that with her over two hundred years of association and mutuality of interests, Britain can have real sympathies for Indian affairs, while any other country like Japan, Germany or Italy can have only the interest of the wolf in its prey in India. This is *Gramism's* position about Britain.

These ultimate relations of Britain and India however can be a matter of future adjustments according to the circumstances of that time. It is indisputable, however, that India as a sovereign power and friend of Britain can be the greatest and most powerful member of this commonwealth of free peoples, but in that event the new position can only be an Indo-British Commonwealth for partnership in commerce and defence against common danger and for common causes. *Gramism* can conceive of such an eventuality with confidence that it may serve the interests of India without sacrificing an iota of its independence. Britain and other members of this commonwealth must be prepared to agree to India receiving that *preponderating* status, influence, position, authority, and power in such commonwealth and its councils—composition-constitution and activity. If this development is obstructed and opposed, then *Gramism* will proceed onwards to its fulfilment in spite of the tactics or terrorism of the British Government or any Indian Government.

Gramism has chosen the weapons for its structure and conquest—peaceful preparations, complete and perfect organisation, carefully guarded activities, studied strategy and collective action, brigade work and staff work, singleness of command and unity of policy, regional autonomy in operation and initiative in emergency—mass pressure of opinion feeling and action, strict preservation of order, penetration into all positions institutions and offices of influence and authority, legislatures and local bodies, ordered appropriation of authority and acquisition of political power and supreme organs of State for the acclamation of the Sovereign Commonwealth of the Village Republic of India, parliamentary action, direct action and

mass action, viz., non-violent resistance, and quiet seizure of State* and state apparatus and its use, as the last ultimate unavoidable policy,—if British intransigence renders it inevitable,—are the *methods* which *Gramism* seeks to adopt and operate for its full and complete achievements.

It is Britain's choice to enable a peaceful transference of power and acquisition of supremacy by the villages, or offer frustration to *Gramism* and risk the tragic consequences of a cataclysmic revolution. *Gramism* is creative revolution—a real concentrated dynamic constructive re-ordering of the spirit, life, thought and work of India's peoples and a complete re-organisation of India's polity society and economy. Its *alternative* is the recreation of the Russian Revolution on Indian soil and that will be the grave of Britain, the Princes, the Zamindars and the Capitalists. *Gramism* expects to secure a bridge between the present Britain-cum-Capitalistic and Zamindari dominion and exploitation, and the millions of masses, struggling for emancipation and a life of comfort and dignity, realising that political power is the only instrument for their recreation and renaissance and reconstruction and striving to attain their *Sovereignty* as a Rural Commonwealth of Villages and village worker masses. *Gramism* shall not tolerate obstruction nor suffer frustration. *Gramism* has chosen *this synthesis and its way* for INDIA, but its essence is the securing of the nobility and dignity and prosperity and culture of humanity; and if it must come to a *last choice*, *Gramism* shall embrace the Soviet way rather than the ugly and futile capitalistic way.

* This was effected with remarkable success in Turkey and Iran by military-parliamentary action, and in Italy and Germany by legal parliamentary action only, and resulted in an intensive political, social and economic reconstruction of prosperity and power without any chaotic conflict.

IV GRAMISM AND ASIA AND THE WORLD

GRAMISM has an *international message* while it is essentially a *national mission* for India. India symbolises the whole of Asia, which is primarily a continent of raw materials with agriculture, forestry and minerals abounding in Burma, China, Tibet, Iran and Arabia. These countries are on the eve of industrialisation. The evils of the industrial system of Europe have not yet taken root in Asia. Exactly therefore, India can give an example by establishing an industrial system based on the conception of partnership of finance, directive talent and executive ability, technical skill and factory labour, with the object of promoting the collective interest of the whole community and national prosperity, and not the exploitation of labour and brains for the enrichment of the financier and industrial controller. *All Asia lives in big and small villages, and the prosperity and power of every country, whether it is China or Tibet or Iran or Afghanistan or Arabia can only be based on the Gramist Foundation* of the enlightenment, efficiency, equipment and enrichment of the VILLAGE. The collective power and the riches of the villages are the total power and wealth of the country. The reconstruction of the social order and economic structure and the reconstruction of the entire national system all over Asia is an urgent and paramount necessity. Gramism has no quarrels with monarchs or rulers, and it seeks to substitute authority and administration **over** the village and the peoples by an authority constituted **of** and **by** the villages and an administration by the peoples *directly* in their own local areas and regions, in a government where the base is the autonomous village and the apex is the central executive and legislature elected by the VILLAGE. Gramism in the structure of the State envisages a partnership between the intelligentsia, the working masses, the technical classes, the peasantry, the hereditary nobility and ruling class and the richer classes demanding from each service and sacrifice

for the *whole community and their State*. The *Gramist Synthesis* is definitely applicable to all Asiatic countries with variations for national adaptation. It is, therefore, a clear message for all workers for the concert of Asia to co-operate in evolving and establishing *Gramism* in every Asiatic country.

Its significance is greater, for *Gramism* is a principle of humanity,—the operation in actual practice of the equality of races, the cessation of exploitation of the weaker by the strong, the deprivation of the instruments of power from the hands of the exploiting classes and the appropriation of power by the working classes in the fields, factories, shops and trades and crafts for their own just rights of better livelihood, cultural advancement, social dignity and political authority and an equitable economic order. It may have repercussions even in the wilds of Africa where its message of deliverance and power may receive a new orientation. Its influence will be universal and it may affect the domestic policy and economy of Britain and the Dominion States, for *Gramism* in its control of economic life adopts as a permanent principle what has been operated as a national expediency for emergencies in the United States and Great Britain, and projects this principle of the right of the State for political and economic security as the principle of the right of the worker to ordain the political and socio-economic system and participate in all the affairs and advantages of State and administration and economic policies profits and power and reconstruction. *The Gramist doctrine of CO-PARCENARY social harmony, economic equity and international equilibrium is a world faith and has an appeal for the noblest souls in the world to strive and labour for the new dawn of human association emancipation and elevation against the darkness of racial arrogance and state glorification and national imperialisms with their possessiveness and their greeds and lusts for dominion and enslavement of peoples for enrichment of financiers in the name of country's need or cultural or racial superiority and domination. Gramism in enunciating the principle of co-operation in place of conquest,*

*and fair exchange in place of exploitation, proclaims its crusade against every aggression and every imperialism; and in its basic creed of the worker's power against the power of the vested interest over the worker, declares war against exploitation and subjugation, by preferring assimilation to extermination in economic and social reconstruction. Gramism gives a last opportunity to the financial despots to accept the partnership of the people in economic democracy or to go to the wall ultimately and be crushed by the dictatorship of the worker. Gramism which is born in India and will recreate India has thus a higher purpose of saving the world from economic anarchy and international conflicts, to shield humanity from the beast of war for pride and world power which aspire to sit like ghouls gloating over the death of liberty democracy and freedom, feasting over the bones of millions of dead who offered their lives for the cherished ideal of human freedom and international harmony, justice, order and peace. Gramism in acclaiming the ancient philosophy of the brotherhood of humanity and in its advocacy of the system of COPARCENARY—a jointure of interests and co-share of rights and responsibilities, duties and services, and contributions and sacrifices for the commonweal of the country and the community, aims at the reclaiming of the human ideals of nobility and chivalry, and the spiritual ideals of beauty and harmony, love and truth, and designs the restoration of the glory of knowledge in the service of mankind and of the re-creation of the greatness of the state in its achievement of the worker-million—masses' truly beneficence by re-organising their cultural, ethical, economical and political might and power. *S u c h then is the spirit and duty of Gramism. Victory to Gramism.**

PART VIII
APPEAL

MY APPEAL

TO all of us, in India—sufferers in this universal slavery of subjection to alien political domination—multi-million martyrs in the field and factory, the shop and office, to the centuries' old exploitation of our brain and arm for the glorification of dynasties and the enrichment of the capitalist and the power of the plutocrat and the bureaucrat—to our hundreds of millions of toiling sweating villages and slums of urban towns—to all the intelligentsia and the vast striving vain and class-prejudiced poor middle classes, I wish to affirm that *Gramism* is their message, their mission, their own making, for a new spirit and a new energy, a new being and a new living, of conscious and co-ordinated will, power, confidence and action, and a life of security and co-operation with comfort, dignity, happiness and culture.

To all and each, I wish to insist the *moral paramountcy* of *Gramism*, which bases its power on economic equity and material justice, securing the foundations of the *new order* of the *Gramist Synthesis* on a unity of spirit and exaltation of mind and heart, for noble objectives of nationalism and humanism, social justice and economic democracy, in a real people's polity.

To all our peoples in India, I wish to urge the *ethical power* of *Gramism* and its synthesis, in its philosophy of life and action for political and socio-economic expression and achievement on the ideal of COPARCENARY and the bases of co-operativism, corporationism, collectivism and rural communitism.

To all our peoples in villages and towns, I wish to assert the *spiritual force* of *Gramism* in its revolutionary quadrangle of realisation, resurrection, reconstruction and

renaissance, for recreating a new humanity and a new power, born of social equality, material comfort, cultural equipment and people's power, in State Polity, for an enlightened and experienced direct democracy of all peoples—the masses—emancipated from ignorance and indigence, inertia and intolerance, and freed from the exploitation of the mind and body by the capitalist and the priest, and the awful exploitation numbing the body and blinding the spirit, which is exercised through the veiled domination of a bourgeois oligarchy with a constitutional mechanism, so camouflaged as to appear democratic in form, but so devised as to operate in practice for the perpetuation of their profit and authority.

To all men and women, I assure that the *cultural value* of *Gramism* in its sanctity for the home and family—purity and nobility of womanhood—ideal of chivalry embodying—truth honour and sacrifice in action—worship of self-immolation for a cause, for commonweal, for country—with universality of, education and arms training, instruction and opportunity, labour and leisure, discipline and action, for the enlightenment efficiency equipment and enrichment of India's three hundred and fifty million masses of the villages and towns, is supreme.

To all the youth of India, who are the spirit and strength of India, and to the children, who are to be, the soul and energy of a new life, the torch-bearers of a new light, the pillars of the new power in *Gramism* and the worthy forbears of a great heritage of emancipation and social achievement for coming centuries, I pledge that *Gramism* and its *complete synthesis* with its ideology and its comprehensive purposes, principles, policy, programme and plan offer a *Conquest of Power*, limitless in its adventure, exhilarating in its romance and fields of action, *for one generation's war against a thousand year's dark past of disharmony, disintegration and decay, for forging a new DESTINY for INDIA and its peoples—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians—in their collective accomplishment of a just social order and a real people's polity, national security and prosperity, Asiatic integrity*

and solidarity, international co-operation and amity, not for a generation or two but for an age because the achievement of Gramism is the beginning of an epoch and the making of an era where India will lead the world and humanity in harmony, equilibrium, justice prosperity, peace and culture, and an international order founded on good will and good faith, freed from the cannibalism of capitalism and imperialism—with its greed of exploitation and aggression.

Friends and Comrades—listen to the voice of the spirit of India, listen to the call of the soul of India, wafting in all our lakhs of villages, and realise once for all, that the village and village worker—citizen and soldier—in India *shall* recreate a new India. Realise that in establishing the Gramist Organisation and in creating a Gramist Organism—for the working of its synthesis in all its fullness, and in the sound and solid structure of the Rural Commonwealth—the SOCOVIREIN—the village masses and India shall find their fulfilment and future destiny. *That is your Heritage. Never be cheated of this Supreme Truth.* Never permit any diversion or division which may deceive you or deter you from *this solemn Faith and Purpose of Village Power and Gramist Beneficence*—never be deluded by any pledges of ruling authorities and oligarchies or assurances of parties or organisations. The village worker must create their leaders and own independent leadership—like a perfect army mechanism, united in faith, purpose, will, allegiance and energy, concentrated for action; and the villages must recognise, organise, establish, energise, support and strengthen this loyalty and leadership for *Gramist Action*.

Let it be realised that any constitutional frame work for India that may be devised or imposed, by any means or any manner, be it called conference or constituent assembly, or *any thing*, is only a bridge for the end—the SOCOVIREIN—which alone should be and shall be the State with its Organic Law of Sovereignty and Power for the Governance of India, as chosen and constituted

directly by the masses of India, and *established by resurrected reorganised and resurgent villages through their own organised conquest of power.*

Let us be *warned* that inspite of all external differences, all vested interests—imperial, feudal, communal or organisational—are terribly anxious for the imposition on India, of a governmental framework with some facade of popular sanction, so that active action may be canalised into the effete reformism of the democratic parliamentarism which will mean the scaffolding of fabianism and that type of social democracy which betrayed the masses in Austria, in Hungary, in Germany, in Italy, and in Czechoslovakia, which will mean the old grisly experimentation of State philanthropy under capitalist domination and exploitation and the gradualism of social progress which has served democratic imperialism, but which can never mean an *economic democracy or a people's polity—in a Peoples' State—which for India must be the Village State—the Village Commonwealth and Village Power—as the true pillars of security and prosperity and as the real representative of people's will and authority.*

Let it therefore, be realised that the work of *Creative Revolution* for the real masses of India will only *begin* with any such constitutional expansion as a sequel to a war or political agitation; and that the village masses of India have to forge their power and create their force; and this revolutionary work of villages in *Gramism* will continue till the establishment of *SOCOVIREIN* and the constructive achievement of the *Gramist Synthesis*.

Friends and Workers, the kernel of unity is in the villages and the restitution of *Village Power*; and the constitution of the Indian National State as a *Village Commonwealth* alone can secure that basic unity of faith and action, life and aspiration, community of purpose and pride, which is identical for every village and village worker and which is universal all over India. *Gramism* re-discovers this fundamental identity of aim and living and builds up the structure of the State and the socio-

economic order on this inconvertible and indisputable truth which must be recognised recast and resurrected for the renaissance of India and the restoration of India as a World Force.

Village Peoples—Comrades in India, Friends of India; my voice may be stilled; my plan and my pen may be persecuted; but my message—*Gramism*—must remain with you.

My work is done. But yours is the Great Duty; for *Gramism* is your task, your personal task, in every village and in every town—of every individual—man and woman. I have written with conviction. It is my confidence in the truth of *Gramism* which voices this appeal. *Gramism* is,—shall be,—a declaration of Faith, Energy, Unity, Power of India and of all her peoples. What more can I say! But I wish to live and work and die for the realisation of *Gramism*.

To all the Villages—Peasants and Workers, Craftsmen and Shroffs, Citizens and Soldiers—in India and all over the Orient World, this is my earnest appeal—to unite and organise—to strive for a higher humanity and a harmonious social order and a heirarchy of social states pledged to peace and co-operation and exchange and culture.

PART IX
WORKER, WOMEN
AND
WAR

NOTE.

This new PART has been added on account of the present War—which commenced after the completion of this work—offering reflections on War, and expressing the mission of *Gramism* to World's Women and its Message to the World's Workers and Intelligentsia for the future New Order.

WAR WORKERS AND WOMEN;

—AND THIS WAR :

THE world is in agony. A war is blazing in Europe since September, 1939, and it seems likely to spread in Asia and towards America. It may suddenly end by the time this work is out or it may be fiercer and more wide-spread and prolonged but its *ugliness* and its *impiety* remain ever unquestionable. Man and science and machine are darting death on humanity. The peace which the Treaty of Versailles imposed has ended in an eruption of this new war of 1939. The injustice and iniquities imposed after 1919 have recoiled. The intrigues of politicians and profiteers still propose a new democratic peace of the "have-states" and "plutocratic powers" which may become the pivot of a still more devastating war of races and interests and social beliefs. And yet, the same pleas of justice and right are heard, the same pleas of liberty and democracy of saving civilisation and freedom's heritage and the rights of nationalities and small states resound on the radio and in parliaments and the press. And—GOD—is even now mentioned by the warring peoples and their rulers; and divine benediction is sought for justification and protection. How odious it is to mention *divinity* for man-made misfortunes and class-provoked catastrophies. Politics, society and economy are as much a part of some supreme law in Nature which governs the winds, the waves and the countless constellations. This Nature ordains earth-quakes and floods and volcanic eruptions, as well as wars and revolutions, on the physical and human planes wherever and whenever its economy and its equilibrium are disturbed and dislocated.

The political over-weightage of the British and French Empires, and United States ascendancy and isolation, and

the strangulating dominance of world finance by London, Paris and New York have created an inevitable tilting of the balance too much on one side, and created a natural disturbance in world-economy and world-polity, which, combined with (1) the resentment of virile peoples and strongly developed powers like Japan, Germany and Italy against the *status quo* which keeps them out of this world power and prestige; and (2) the revolutionary faith of a resurgent socialism which has sought to create a new humanity in Russia among some two hundred millions of peoples of different races, creeds and nationalities battling against the subtle conspiracy of 'capitalists' concert' to weaken and foil and crush its conquests, has been the root cause of this present war and may still provoke many more wars, until political and economic equilibrium is restored on continental dimensions by the withdrawal of all European Powers from Asia altogether and an international control of Africa jointly by Europe and Asia with the United States as arbitrator until the Coloured peoples of Africa attain cultural and moral power to constitute their own polity and economy in a World Concert. This necessitates the creation of a New Order in Asia with *India as its base and fulcrum for balance and peace.*

New Order in Asia

This must be founded on definite bases and principles :—
The bases are :

1. The restoration of India as Sovereign State; the resurrection of India into Freedom and Power; the reconstruction and national resurgence of the Indian Peoples into United Corporate Nationhood in a COMMONWEALTH of people's polity, economic democracy and social equity, with the new state and new social order evolved out of GRAMISM and secured in Unity, Integrity and Sovereignty by the industrialisation, collectivisation, mechanisation, militarisation and mass-mobilisation of the mind, heart and energy of the whole country based

on the Ideal and Faith of a Free United India—self-constituted and self-contained, and governed by the peoples of India in and through their VILLAGES, factories, work-shops, firms, schools, shops, academies and administrative offices, in a pyramid of their own State Structure of Village and Town heirarchy.

2. The restoration of China's Sovereignty—integrity, independence and territory—and of its economic and military power.
3. Co-ordination of economic policy and industrial interests between India, Burma, China, Nepal, Afghanistan and Iran.
4. Re-orientation of the political and economic structure and policy of Iran, Turkey, Arabia and Afghanistan.
5. Association of India and China with Russia for political, economic, defence,—co-operation and co-ordination, and for security of Iran and Afghanistan.
6. Acceptance of Japan's need for space and markets in the Pacific and South Sea Lands; and re-orientation of Japanese policy, by abandonment of aggressionism for free and equal co-operation; and the re-constitution of Japan's State and Social Structure as a social and not an imperialist aggressionist democracy.

The *principles* are :

1. Resistance to domination and exploitation by any aggressive imperialist power—Britain, Japan, France, Germany or Italy.
2. Metropolitan independence and security of each Asiatic State and Country; and complete freedom of the peoples of each country to shape and organise their State and Social Order.
3. Economic exchange, co-operation and reciprocity between Asiatic States and Countries as equals

without any internal intercession or infringement of the sovereignty of any country by another country.

It is natural if there should evolve a Confederacy of Asiatic States to remove and resist all foreign interference and influence, pledged to safeguard mutual integrity and independence, and to co-operation in defence against any aggression of any Asiatic or European Power or peoples.

But this is impracticable, until wolfish capitalism and racial egoism lose the control of governments, parliaments and the press, and until the working peoples assert their own sovereignty and will, for economic equity, social justice and international peace for a better civilisation and a higher culture.

Delusion of Peace

Even while this war is on, peace efforts have been in progress—the messages of His Holiness the Pope and His Excellency the President of the United States breathed peace. The mission of Mr. Sumner Welles investigated peace. But the peace conceived in February was a peace which implied the utter weakening of Germany—if its actual dismemberment was not feasible, and an Anglo-French hegemony in Europe under the facade of a sort of a Federation for economic exchange and political co-operation—an extension of the Franco-British War Unity to other small states as free countries. This move reached its climax in the last offer of an Act of Union between France and Britain in this May, 1940, and this policy still remains the potential in the support given by Britain to Frenchmen and the refugee governments of Norway, Holland and Belgium. Such an offer is an invitation to the small states to choose between alliance with Franco-British Authority and interests, or alignment with German-Italian autarchy. It has been a clever move to ask other states to acknowledge their preferences—allegiance to capitalism and individualism or state-ism and totalitarianism. It seems in fact an overture to the governing class and the rich bourgeoisie in the small states to join up with the

Anglo-French bourgeois capitalism to enter into a European combine for the security of their privilege and profiteering.

But since then, Nazi Germany has made spectacular strides of conquest in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium through the might of her mechanisation impelled by a new spirit of resurgence sustained by a fanatic faith in the Fuhrer—Herr Hitler—who has in less than a decade recreated the spirit and aspiration of the German peoples, broken by the peace of Versailles, which is universally recognised now as unrighteous and from which the United States of America wisely kept aloof. Even France—the beacon light of freedom and culture—the home of revolution and liberty—is quenched by ruthless conquest and subtle subjugation. The capitulation of France is the darkest deed in the history of Europe and the world; and that was possible because of the treacherous surrender of her ruling class and governing plutocracy—who, under the tutelage of its finance despots, ruthlessly persecuted the working masses before and during the War, and ceaselessly declined to inform and arm the mind and will of the French peoples, and refused to revise and resurrect their immortal spirit of revolution, liberty and freedom which had defied aggression and autocracy and preserved people's democracy throughout a century and a half since their epic of 1788.

The collapse of the North Sea States had immediate reaction in Central Europe and the Balkans. Hungary asserted its revisionist claims. Rumania has accommodated Russia and arranged about Dobruja with Bulgaria and has finally conceded Hungarian territorial demands under the Axis Powers' Vienna Award. Yugoslavia caught in a pincer between Germany, Italy and Hungary has effected a rapprochement with Russia. It is Russian influence which quietly offers resistance to Germany's dream of hegemony in Central Europe and advance in Southern Europe towards the Black Sea and Constantinople. In Africa, the Italian advance in Somaliland and Lybia and invasion of Greece is a threat to Turkey, the Sudan, Egypt and the Red Sea. In the east, Japan is bent on occupying Indo-

China and including the East Indies in its hegemony and has openly joined the Axis Powers in their designs for a world redistribution. The reaction to this aggression and ambition is characteristically growing in America in an intensive re-armament programme and increasing volume of public feeling to aid Britain in the preservation of the world's capitalist democratic order. The *Act of Havana* is a symbol of the common purpose of the American Republics to secure themselves against any aggression. The leasing of British bases to the United States, the active association of Canada in a Joint Defence Council with the United States and the possibilities of a similar pact with Australia for joint defence in the Pacific and at Singapore are evidence of a close identity of political, social and economic institutions and interests of Britain's Commonwealth and the United States, and may be the fore-runner and forger of a future Anglo-Saxon Confederation against the eventuality of a revolutionary Europe and even a re-surgent Asia. President Roosevelt's Daytona address is a land-mark in America's preparedness—campaign, and his third term re-election—an extraordinary event in America's politics—is a confirmation of the trend of the American people's sentiments, convictions and interests against the Axis Powers' plans and adventures for world conquest, domination or influence.

Britain—the Bulwark of Liberalism

Britain alone stands as the bulwark of faith for independence of small states and freedom of nationalities with its latest pronouncement about Indian self-government as a moral gesture before the sceptic world. Britain is the last dam of the tottering old order and ancient principle of unrestricted propertism and capitalistic dominionism. But even in Britain, the War has compelled emergency measures accepted by its liberal Parliament with conservative dominance for the control and use of the person and property of all citizens. *This change-over to a new system of controlled polity and economy may be regarded as an expediency; but it shall persist and advance, even after the peace, in Britain*

when social reconstruction shall become a mission. Britain resists manfully and proudly because it has harnessed the spiritual and moral forces of her people, and because its ruling class, instead of shrinking away from the masses in fear, invited the working masses for mobilising people's energy for defence and because its moneyed interests have accepted with sincerity the duty of sacrifice and self-denial for the cause of England's freedom and Englishmen's liberties. Britain affords the world to-day a rare spectacle of a people united in faith and purpose, alone and abandoned by allies defending their heritage against annihilation.

What tremendous moral force, man-power and material aid could Britain have generated, if its rulers had only sincerity for their avowed principles in application within their own Empire in relation to *India*—which still remains, a helpless, spiritless dependency,—a colonial estate for drafting its resources for Britain's power, prosperity and preservation. What immense potentiality for creating a new world history by liberating India and securing her loyal friendship for the new age, Britain has missed, because of the cupidity of its financial and industrial interests, the blindness of its intelligentsia who neither care nor know, and the obduracy of its responsible politicians who think of India in terms of Edwardian conservatism and who persist in pronouncing pledges with reservations and principles with obstructionist suggestions, and whose object is to continue India as a political, economic military *patrimony* for the heirs of Britain, after success in this war of self-preservation, as Mr. Churchill frankly put it. But these British peoples in Britain and her Commonwealth should be an *example* to our Indian peoples for unity, solidarity and sacrifice for their common cause and Commonweal—the security of their prosperity and power in the world.

China in Resurgence

The War may have other potential repurcussions. In Asia, Japan's ambition covers the whole of East Asia but if

Britain is weakened and the United States are ineffective, she may try to appropriate in proper time the Phillipines the East Indies and the northern part of Australia. Japanese aggression is the obvious sequel to the over-population of Japan which must justly need space for its people in the uninhabited parts and seek to enlarge her economic sphere for sustenance of her prosperity under her political hegemony. The Chinese people under their national leader of genius—Marshall Chiang-Kai-Sheik—who created remarkable solidarity of resistance to the imposition of Japanese hegemony have made an epic in history for the Chinese, but a chapter of retreat and abandonment of principles and interests by Britain and France upto the recent troops-withdrawal at Shanghai and the Vichy submission in Indo-China. The other people who could be a bulwark against aggression are the Indian People but they have been totally disarmed since eighty years, have no right to carry arms, and are enlisted as their fighting services by the British Government which definitely declined to concede even what the Indian Liberal Deputation asked Lord Linlithgow the Viceroy at Poona—military self-preparation—irrespective of political power for a self-governing India. The danger to India of the consequences of disaster to Britain is apparent. But nothing is yet done in India to interest the real masses in villages or towns in the government, administration, defence and national life. The military and technical recruitment and economic organisation is all a “government service,” and justifies the contention of India being the base and reservoir of supplies—military and economic—for the British Empire. There is no nationalisation of the spirit and effort of the peoples of India—only a probing of the upper strata of vested interests for war purposes. Nothing can save India from foreign occupation by a modern military power as the peoples have been habituated to subjugation and submission and are entirely untrained and unprepared for any sort of resistance during this hundred years of consolidated British authority in India. The fault—history will record it as a crime—is of Britain which even now will not make

a moving gesture of appeal in response to the moderate and legitimate Congress demand for an acknowledgment only of the *right* of India to freedom, and the formation of an ejective national government at Delhi. It is from this condition of abject dependence and helplessness, that India, must be lifted into a consciousness of disciplined citizenship sacrifice and national power. The leaders of India seek this fulfilment; and *Gramism* points the true path.

The Russian Puzzle

India, however, is a mere pawn in the ambitions of powers in the present situation of its dependency and the decadence and disintegration of its peoples inspite of a century of British connection. It is the developments in Europe that matter and here too the future is hypothetical. It is suspected that Britain expected and wished that Germany and Russia may fall out and fight each other and dig their own graves. The Russo-German understanding undid the prospect. But, can it be that there is any real heart unity between Stalin and Hitler, whatever M. Molotov may say about their Pact being founded on fundamental state purposes. Is it not more probable that Britain and Germany may yet make some peace and combine to prepare with the support of Japan, a War of extermination of Soviet Russia, as it is the Socialism of Russia with its contagion and appeal which is the dread of all capitalist-bourgeoisie in all countries and their governments controlled by their money-barons. The famous speech of M. Stalin in 1939 about "pulling other peoples chestnuts out of fire" and the latest speech of the Russian Foreign Minister M. Molotov urging all the Russian Peoples to remember Stalin's advice to be keyed and completely ready for all surprises and emergencies is some indication of the suspicion of such a conspiracy of capitalism to disintegrate *her* Holy Soil of Socialism and annihilate the unity and power of the Soviet, and so quenching the new light and hope of a spiritually, physically, morally, intellectually hungry humanity, save the world for its capitalist-depots, ruling countries through their protege-politicians and sham-democracies of capitalist

dominated parliaments to exploit nine-tenths of humanity as a sub-race of social slaves and economic serfs.

Soviet Russia seems to be the greatest security of Asia against Nazi-Fascist inroads or encroachments as Russia cannot conceivably allow German-Italian influence or authority in any part of Asia. Russia cannot permit herself to be besieged as it would inevitably be if Germany established its authority east of Suez in the Muslims States or India, while Japan consolidated itself in China and the Far East. If, and one frankly shudders at the idea, but if Britain collapses or fails, that failure, which would certainly be a world-tragedy, will be a catalysmic catastrophe for India. In that eventuality if India is threatened by Germany or Japan, it is inconceivable that Russia can remain an indifferent spectator. Russia may prefer the independence of India, even as a semi-feudal-finance-democratic India, to its subjection and domination by Germany or Japan, though it is inevitable that under such inconceivable circumstance Russian influence would result eventually in a revolution of Indian peoples to constitute in India a similar state and social order as in Russia.

Revolutions in Europe ?

Such are the unpleasant nightmares which disturb every thinking person. But if the War continues long and the siege of Europe by Britain succeeds and increases in efficiency, then the peoples of Europe may burst up in a series of insurrections, and even Germany and Italy may see revolutions over-throwing not only the present regime but their political and social order and establishing a socialist order. Some sort of a Central European Soviet Federation looms ahead as a possibility because in substance there is a very small practical distinction between the order in Germany or Italy and Russia, in that, while in Germany, Italy and Russia, there is complete State control of national economy and social order, in Russia individual capitalism is totally abolished, while it is permitted in a restricted form under State regulation and direction in Germany and Italy. It is more probable, then, that in

the last crisis Nazism may prefer to abolish the distinguishing line and prefer total Socialism of the Soviet structure to secure active Russian aid in preventing Germany's and Italy's complete annihilation and dismemberment through a British Victory aided by the United States. But is not all this the grim tragedy of conflicting plutocracies attempting to sever and destroy each other to secure undisputed sway over the world's working masses?

Capitalists Trust

But in all these possibilities which none dare forecast with any accuracy, the chief consideration of the governing classes and vested interests of finance and industry is its preservation and conservation. The working classes are merely being used as sounding boards of the ruling interests and exploited as instruments for the continuation of the dominance—of the exploiting oligarchy of the rich and the privilege-biassed intellectuals. It is obvious that the capitalists and the bourgeoisie in all European countries (and even Asiatic countries near the theatre of war) shudder in fright, and it will be natural if they would cluster together in a sort of "*capitalist political trust*" for mutual and collective security under a possibly joint—Franco-British-German-Italian collective system of a world economic exploitation, or failing that under the protecting wings of new Franco-British Imperialism with which must be allied the dollar imperialism of America. Therefore, it seems as if—failing a new France even as a last contingency—the Anglo-American capitalism will seek to dominate the world by the control of commerce with supremacy of the seas.

Will the world divide itself into two forces—capitalist sea forces and socialist land forces? Shall air-hawks be vultures and air armadas curses of man? What can decide the supreme issue of such terrible magnitude for the future civilization of the human race? It is possible that the working masses of the world yoked to a meaningless battle field for a continuous long period will break out under the leash of such bondage and such torture for emancipation

and illumination. And yet, it is in the name of the peoples and their rights and interests that the racial egoists, capitalists, oligarchs and the plutocrat politicians claim to wage wars, which in the control and power—concentrated in the capitalist directives of industry, commerce, and finance—for war purposes and national economy, are wars which seem as it were their profit-making concerns; and these are the wars in which they are asking the masses to kill and be killed in their multitudes for the world kingdom of the plutocrat and the bureaucrat.

What a falsehood? What a myth? What an untruth?

A War of Ideas

This war cannot be prolonged. It must close by next Spring. But if it develops and continues after 1941, it will be a war between two ideas, two egoisms, two moralities, two systems—between the idea of people's polity and plutocratic polity—between the working masses' ego and the ego of the privileged profiteering classes, between the morality of universal economic democracy and the morality of capitalist charity, between a *democratic social system* which recognises the paramountcy of the working class denying refuge to the profiteering class of the privileged rich, and the *liberal social system* which recognises the supremacy of the privileged rich and allow few rights to the working class—so limited that the working class may be used as a regulated agent of the will and policy of the capitalist ruling class who vote liberal social services to screen the fact of their unrestricted exploitation of the masses' mind, body and labour. This is exactly a development which must necessitate suspension of the war catastrophe. Already the Pope—the apostle of Christianity, and the American President—the apostle of Plutocracy, having urged for peace are speaking about the possibility of the destruction of all the “ideals, standards and beliefs which free nations and humanity hold dear.” Are the peoples in independent states really free? Does not this

'freedom' reside with capitalist bourgeoisie only to exploit a helpless disunited unconscious and unorganised labouring and small salaried intelligent class ?

Who will utter and accept the Truth ?

Already there are utterances of provoking a resistance against peoples and systems which deny GOD. But where is God for the average sweating toiler and how is God interpreted and lived ? To the capitalist and the bourgeoisie, God possibly resides only in the Bank of England, the Bank of France and the American Banks and perhaps in the great combines and the industries. To the impoverished ill-clothed, ignorant, ill-trained toiler, God resides in his slum and filth and stench and the priest-fed doctrine of contentment and fatalism in his state of poverty and misery. How horrible is this juxta-position of pride and power and prosperity and privilege of the rich few with the self-contempt, helplessness, penury and despair of the impoverished multitude. And yet *God the Beautiful the Bountiful and the Benificent is every where*; but only man in his individual aquisition and avarice has denied real Godhood in the collective beneficence of the community and the commonwealth.

Who will see the truth and live for the truth ?

GOD cannot be partial to any class or race or country as God must be universal beneficence. Godhood is the emancipation of the human mind from the darkness of prejudice, superstition, fanaticism and bigotry into the light of the realisation of a common human right, a common human destiny, a common human beneficence, a realisation of a common human life and existence of culture, dignity, comfort, duties, services, sacrifices, a practical implementing of the Christian doctrine—in the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread—and the meaning of the supper that thou shalt share thy bread and thy gifts. *Godhood* is in the Vedantic doctrine of "*Vasudhaiv Kutumbkam*"—Humanity is one Family. *Godhood* is in the great Islamic doctrine of the universal brother-

hood of all those who believe in the oneness of a bountiful God. And God is believed and served and loved in all countries and among all peoples. And yet, it is in the name of God, that the evil of war and aggression and exploitation flourish. Who can say that GOD is not in Russia—as much as in Britain or America or Germany or Italy—in a “fresher meaning and message” where humanity is distinctly served—though it may not conform to the accepted practice of the conventional social order of privilege and property and though Russia’s applied socialism—which is undoubtedly a moving experiment in the evolution of humanity—may not appeal to the dwarfed minds and dried hearts of the worlds bourgeoisie steeped in a thousand year old crust of the cruelty of exploitation with its tradition of mastery and profiteering. *GOD is universal in every leaf and flower and plant that blossoms and fades and every animate being and every inanimate thing; and his manifestations cannot be the same or similar in every age or clime or country.* Each country and each people have to evolve their own Godhood; and *real Godhood is that alone which serves humanity, uplifts human mind and motives, and exalts human endeavour and energy for a collective and common beneficence, without cruelty, without chaos, without aggression or exploitation for a new world order of equity co-operation and harmony.*

A New GODHOOD ?

In the interests of *Truth* and *Light* which are eternal and greater than mankind or puny politicians or priests—be they Presidents or Prime Ministers or Dictators or Kings or Bishops—let not GOD—be brought in the impious and unholy quarrels of racial prides, capitalist greeds, and empire lusts. And yet, there appears to be a nicely designed movement to combat this war of conflicting interests and imperialisms into a crusade against Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and what they severally represent in the development of human thought, economic practice and socio-political institutions which merit appreciation and which will survive as concrete advance in social evolution, even after this war, for which we in India

have repugnance and revulsion for its barbarities on civilian populations and its destruction of free peoples and happy states, is over. All those who thus try to bifurcate humanity into two warring 'beast-dooms'—the privileged *versus* the proletariat—will be provoking a most *ungodly* enterprise, because the truth can only be that humanity will be instigated to mutual massacre by the conflicting vested interests to promote their ambition or to preserve their privilege in which the vast humanity is entirely uninterested.

Are there no Seers in the world? Or is the world awaiting a resurrection of a new God and Godhood after such an impending catastrophe which must convert the world into a human slaughter house, academies into nurseries of hatred, laboratories into agents of death and pastures into fields of destruction. May not Mahatma Gandhi's orientation of non-violence in all spheres of human life and society *perhaps* be the *possible* message of real peace among races, communities and countries?

Heritage of the Heart

Comrades and friends—workers and soldiers—we must seek light and inspiration from the *seried* past. We must recover the precious *Heritage of the Heart*, and restore its supremacy in the affairs of mankind. It is the Heart which unfailingly perceives right, unerringly predicates justice, acts correctly under the laws of introspection and instinctively responds to the light of Truth Equity and Beauty. Friends of Humanity, we must realise all over the world, that, in the dethronement of the *Heart*, and the sacred repository of *Heart—Womanhood*—can be traced the evils and wickedness and brutalities and bestialities of the world. Shall we not hear the call from within, shall not we—the males—who have encouraged and exploited lust and greed, endeavour to recast our beliefs and standards and activities and *entrust to women* the nursing of a better future world?

New Light

To-day and *now* it is for the *sages* of the world to come together and seek a new light which will establish a new

religion of humanity, a new exchange of idealism and achievement, a new faith of co-operation and reciprocity, a new understanding of the oneness of the human family, a new mission of racial equality by education and advancement, a new philosophy of national equality and political autonomy, a new creed of collective sovereignty and international arbitration, new values of right and justice, duty and equity, undefiled by the prides and prejudices of the past thousand years and the land-lusts and market-greeds of the past two centuries—a new revelation that man has missed his mission and abused his privileges and powers—that the age of supremacy of the *male* in world affairs must be finished, that the *era of woman's supremacy* in world ordainment must be ushered in, that woman should take up the task of world rulership, that woman should awaken to the mission of universal motherhood of rearing up humanity to nobler ideals of *Godhood*, happiness, service, and co-operation—a new realisation of the vital need of entrusting the functions of power to woman and of endowing woman with participation in decisive thinking and action in administration, industry, economic re-organisation, in education, social service and national and international disputes—a new fulfilment of humanity in the eradication of ignorance and poverty, alleviation of ailment and misery, and the elimination of individualistic competition and bourgeois, covetousness and conceit and cruelty and extinction of slavery to 'force' through science and money power.

The Cruel Century

If the history of the last hundred years teaches anything, it is this, that the weakness and simplicity of the peoples of Asia and Africa have been the reason for their subjection, exploitation and humiliation by some stronger and adventurous races of Europe; and the European strife is a struggle for the continuation of this loot and enslavement of the world's weaker peoples, and their countries' resources. That has been the fact—the stronger crushing the weak and letting the humble and small to live on terms and conditions subject to the will and interest of the strong.

No religion and no prophet has been able to cure the world of the evil of greed and power, of the ills of envy and avarice, of the wickedness of deceit and treachery, of the ugliness of hypocrisy and sanctimonious piety, of the real original sins of brutish selfishness, of self-conceit, self-interest, of self-justification of wrong, of fear and lucre, of the heinous crime of the preachers and priests who traded in bargaining with God and promised absolutions for coins and bricks, denying *the universal and immutable "law of the sower and the reaper"* of the fiendishness of conquerors and statesmen who duped their peoples to kill and to be killed on the myth of glory, for self, for dynasty, for race, for religion, for country, for empire—a glory for a few princes or politicians discussing in cool chambers or a few bankers and industrialists, directing inscrutable operations in the jugglery of finance, or a few generals planning mass destruction of human life and the works of labour and art. It is a perversion of the very concept of glory which thinks of glory in terms of inflicting aggressions, destruction, devastation, injustice, exploitation, subjugation and murder, on land, sea and air for these unholy ends.

New Education

This war may end soon or late, but war will remain until the arrogance of race, and the creed of greed conquest and glory of power remain with the rich and ruling classes of the earth. That is the reason why these ruling classes bred in these ancient impieties and cloaked cruelties of imposing injustice, inequality, poverty, and crime, under the mask of duty of maintenance of law and the social order, which defends their privilege of profiteering and depends on the camouflage of democracy with its institutions so established as to secure the preponderance of property and privilege for the continuation of the gilded slavery of the vast poor and humble peoples, must be replaced by the new ruling class of the workers and intelligentsia of the world in every country, forging a fraternity of collaboration in cultural and material well-being and

collective action to suppress the ancient unholy practice of force, fraud, dominance and exploitation. That is why the "*educationists of the world*" should meet in evolving the *new light of synthesis* and *co-operative energy*, in framing a universal curriculum of peace, knowledge, equity, ethics, love, chivalry and truth, human fellowship and service arising out of practical social justice and cultural ennoblement of the masses in their mind, their spirit, their character, their social relationship and economic organisations, their political structure and international intercourse.

Woman's Supreme Mission

Friends in all parts of the world, most earnestly and emphatically, would I urge that *the decision of war, which is the decision of death, can only be made by those who give birth and nourishment and selfless love and service*—that no war shall be made without a plebiscite of the women, that peace shall not be made by the warring males but only by women, that there shall be a *World League of Women*—which will organise a Women's Peace International—devoting itself to the task of re-organising social order, economic justice and political power, appointing their 'Womens Embassies' for preventing wars, aggressions and exploitations, enforcing the value of reason and justice and the necessity of denial and restraint through the press, the platform and the parliament. Unless the *heart of humanity* is resurrected to realise the new light and truth of a just order of economic equity and social polity in a free people's state, unless the empire of women's love and sacrifice triumphs in the epoch of this century, Krishna and Buddha and Christ and Mahomed will have lived in vain. This is the great message of *Gramism* for the women of the world. That is the *mission* to which *Gramism* summons the Elect of the World's Womanhood through the illumination of women's spirit of dedication and virtue, sancity and purity.

World Co-operation

The lights are out but the dawn is come. In spite of every attempt of British and French and American vested interests and capitalistic imperialism and Italian, German and Japanese aggressionism, the world must awaken to a new dream of fulfilment of "*world co-operation.*" The peoples of the world are being released from the terrible nightmare of a thousand-year-old concept of property and monopoly, exclusiveness and possessiveness. In spite of every attempt to cloud the issues and camouflage the aims of strifes and war, mankind is realising the crime of wars fought in the name of liberty and justice and rights for small nationalities or states, for the continuation of the conditions in which the owners of dominating power in finance and political authority and states may perpetuate their regime of capitalistic anarchy which may breed another and more devastating war. It may be that humanity may yet have to bleed in the seven seas and all the ancient and new lands before the barbaric feudalism of capitalism is replaced by the democracy of co-operativism and collectivism; but the *seers of the world* must realise that it is as worthless and futile as it is impossible and even impious to attempt to justify and perpetuate an order of society which has carried humanity no further than a few yards from the jungle, which has only nurtured in the west a civilisation with false values, in a materialistic facade without any spiritual harmony, and given birth to a culture, which glories in using science for killing and state apparatus for exploiting the world's workers in the farm and factory as the helot of the man in the limousine or the yacht. The eternal value of "*wealth as a mission*" individual co-operative or collective of a country or continents has never been understood or realised. The false value of wealth as a possession for an individual, a group, a class, and not as a purveyor of the spiritual and material needs of mankind and as the distributor of the cultural and economic needs of man in a social state has destroyed all the work of Krishna and Buddha, Christ and Mahomed, and

buried the beautiful teachings of Vedant and Islam—the cult of universal brotherhood of man and the duty of co-operation and distribution of one's acquisitions.

Coparcenary

Men and women all over the earth must realise that in the ancient doctrine of 'COPARCENARY' in its application to social order and state polity and apparatus—the ideal, of a common right to a correct and competent livelihood and an equal share in service or culture benefits, of the duty of equitable distribution of the proceeds and produce and profits of labour and intelligence; of the conception and operation of money as an agency of the collective good and not exclusive pride or power, of the principle of co-operative effort, co-ordinated for collective beneficence, projected into a social state as an instrument for the use of human intelligence and labour and the earth's resources for the prosperity and power and culture and dignity of the masses and all peoples, and not as an agency of the rich and the intellectual to exploit for the disproportionate benefit of the possessing ruling class and the protection of the privileged plutocracy against the natural and inherent prerogative and interest of the disinterested and defrauded working masses, rests the future of mankind and a just world order.

It is in the construction and operation of the principle and doctrine of COPARCENARY in state and society that the hope of humanity lies in creating a social order of equilibrium, equity, harmony and justice between all classes and countries. If this choice is not made soon and made effective, the inevitable sequel must be the world revolution which Marx prophesied, which Lenin forged, which Trotsky preached and which Stalin has temporarily stayed for reasons of stability and consolidation of the gainings of the most stupendous social revolution and endeavour for human resurrection in the Russias of Europe and Asia, with its beacon light for China, India and all countries of Western Asia and their impoverished exploited thousand million toilers and workers.

Friends and comrades, the dawn of resurrection through co-operativism and collectivism will be the new day of a thousand years of the COPARCENARY—State and Society—and this is the Gramist Message to the World.

CONCLUSION

THIS work was completed last August, 1939. An interval of more than a whole year has gone by. It has been a period of unexpected historic events in the world, with natural reactions in India. Of course India cannot and has not escaped the tribulations and apprehensions of this War, and our country has witnessed a kaleidoscopic confusion and exhibition of cross-purposes expressed by the political and financial upper strata, claiming influence and authority, which baffles the hope of all patriots and nationalist workers and has disillusioned and embittered the peasants and working masses of India. All this political rippling has entirely no significance for the real India, of the villages and towns, that matter. Beneath these exterior political bubbles of leaders and institutions, the oceanic masses of India in the villages, factories, firms and workshops live, indifferent, uncaring, unconscious and heedless of controversies or constitutional adjustments and agreements, engaged in the uncouth rude struggle for a bare living, probing for a meaning of existence, yearning for the realisation of a new life, a new spirit and being, a new adventure and achievement, a new message and mission which may exalt their souls and kindle their hearts, for the glory of a new order and a new age of their renaissance and power.

This is what *Gramism* gives to the thirsty multi-million masses of India's peasantry and workers, and its millions of intelligentsia; and therein lies the merit and power of *Gramism*, in spite of the War or any future repercussions in India. Whatever may be the outcome of the War and whatever may be the conditions in India, the value of *Gramism* as a Faith and as a Cause, and the necessity and utility of the Gramist Synthesis are paramount; and *GRAMISM and its Synthesis remain the absolute TRUTH for India and our peoples*. The very conflict of

thought, interest and aim that has over-shadowed India makes the acceptance of *GRAMISM* and the Gramist Synthesis imperative, as a conserving and consolidating cement, to unify and intensify the understanding minds and progressive forces in India to combine and concentrate for the working of a Thesis and a Plan, which secures definiteness, concreteness and a finality of direction and destination, which balances and harmonise sentiments, interests and aspirations, and erects a composite foundation, on which may be reared, if sympathetic comprehension, spirit of sacrifice, will to serve and do justice to the masses of India, and sincere patriotism are not wholly absent, a sound structure for the power and culture, authority and prosperity of a United Indian Peoples and a Free Indian State.

I will repeat and urge that the Supremacy of *Gramism* and the Gramist Synthesis is above all criticism or cavail, because, it seeks the expression of the soul and energy of India—the India of over three quarter million villages and some three hundred million agriculturists, artisans teachers, mechanics, sahkars, small civil servants and soldiers, aspiring for a richer, happier life and yearning for a united national, rural, citizenship, because it embodies the inner spirit and urge of the masses—Hindoo, Muslim, Sikh and Christian—for implanting and living a life of nobility, purity, beauty, plenty, energy, duty, goodness and grace in the truest spirit of Divine Godhood, and because it embodies the final destination of the Indian peoples and fulfilment of India's destiny as a world power and world moral-cultural force.

In this spirit of comprehension, *Gramism* is offered; and with this very spirit of comprehension, *Gramism* must be accepted and acted for our fatherland—INDIA.

That is My Prayer.

APPENDIX

I

ALL INDIA RURAL POLICY AND PROGRAMME*

This All India Rural Representatives Conference is of opinion that the propositions adopted at this Conference be considered as a basis of an All India Rural Policy and Programme, country-wide discussion and invites opinions and suggestions from all groups, bodies and persons, interested in Rural Affairs, for consideration at the next Conference.

PROPOSITIONS ADOPTED

Group A.

1. Land Revenue.
3. Tenancy.
2. Land Lords.
4. Rural Labour.

1. That an authentic and authoritative examination of the entire *Land Revenue Policy* and *Land System*, for recasting it, in aims, operations and effect within any administrative system is very necessary, with a critical review, of its operation between the periods of 1870-1900 and 1901 to 1930, and its influence and effect on the economic and agricultural produce of the country-side and that such examination be undertaken by the Government, by the appointment of a Commission or Committee with Provincial Committees, and Local Committees in Districts and Tehsils, with the aid of the economists, agricultural

* Prepared by the author and unanimously adopted at the All India Rural Representatives Conference at Delhi in February 1932 under the Presidentship of Mr. G. K. Deodhar, M. A., C. I. E., President, Servant of India Society, Poona.

experts and representatives of rural interests in collaboration with local officials and local boards, for a report and recommendations for changes to conserve and promote agricultural improvement and village prosperity.

2. That a *Judicial Commission* consisting of a Chief Justice or Judge of a High Court, one Land-lord Representative, one Ryot's Representative, one experienced Revenue Official and two Independent Gentlemen, be appointed to inquire and report into the conditions, grievances of land-lords and landed estates, and the possibilities of mutual aid and collaboration between the land lords, the tenants and Government through its Local Officials and Departments in promoting agricultural prosperity and to suggest the ways and means of securing the just rights of land-lords and just benefits for the welfare of the tenantry, and recommend the means and machinery for accommodating, adjusting and deciding the differences and disputes between the land-lords and tenants, to save friction and bitterness to prevent strife and struggle and to promote conciliation, harmony and good will.

3. That a *Tenancy Commission* be appointed by Government and examine Tenancy Laws and their operation and effects in the different parts of India, to investigate into their effect on rural economy, agricultural production and prosperity of the cultivator, and to make recommendations for removing discrepancies, supplementing beneficial provisions and promoting uniformity in matters of tenure reliefs and rights and legal provisions for a sort of a common Charter of Tenants' Rights and Interests.

4. That the Department of Labour and Industries should undertake in co-operation with Provincial Governments, Local Boards and Local Officials, an inquiry into the qualities and conditions of *Rural Labour* and *Farm Labour* and examine its wages and work output, in relation to farm produce and cost of agricultural production and submit recommendations for their training and co-operative effort for making this labour more productive and paying.

Group B.

1. Rural Credits.
2. Agricultural Developments.
3. Irrigation and Water Supply.
4. Rural Industries.

1. That a Special Committee be established by the Government in collaboration with Provincial Governments, Local Officials and Local Boards and Local Committees with representatives of rural interests, to inquire, report and make recommendations regarding—

(a) The conversion of the present Taccavi system into a regular banking system for rural areas.

(b) The operation of the Agriculturists Loans Act and Agricultural Improvement Act in Districts and Tehsils or Talukas.

(c) The co-operation and conservation of Local Reserves and Resources in Tehsils or Talukas and Districts as a reservoir of Local Rural Credits.

(d) The association or incorporation of the money lenders into a registered and representative body in the Talukas, Tehsils and Districts, with facilities and resources of obtaining recoveries and dues with definite protective provisions for rural borrowers' interest.

With the object of affording an easy system of current credit and quick recoveries, without the mediation, delays and burdensome costs of litigation, and to suggest ways and means for securing a fair and impartial administration and equitable and just distribution, of such credit facilities supervising the needs and uses of the borrower, for their demand by the Revenue Authorities, with payments through the local Branches of the Imperial Bank or Provincial Co-operative Bank or local Co-operative or Banks or local recognised banker for this definite purpose.

2. (a) That the establishment under **Statute of Rural Development Boards and Agricultural Improvement Trusts**,

co-ordinated for work in different districts in provinces under a Central Council, similar to the City Improvement Trust is advisable and necessary for developing rural areas and improving agricultural production.

(b) That Government should initiate and organise the establishment of *Rural Colonies* for the utilisation of the millions of acres of arable land lying uncultivated by encouraging cultivators by supply of facilities for migration transport and modern machinery for large scale agriculture on a co-operative collective basis.

3. That Government should undertake with the aid of Public Works, Irrigation and Revenue and Survey Departments a complete and comprehensive *Water Survey* of every District and Tehsil and appoint a Special Committee to devise a complete plan for a *Rural Water Supply System* for agricultural purposes and village user, with a view to the conservation, and utilisation of sub-soil water, flood waters, rain waters, rivers and streams and wells.

4. (a) The Government should establish a *Rural Industrial Council* with provincial boards to initiate and co-ordinate a policy of fostering and promoting local rural industries.

(b) The Government should undertake and encourage a complete *Electric Survey* of Districts and Tehsils or Talukas in each Province, for examination of resources for electrical energy and for the supply of economical electrical power for the use of home industries in Villages and for water pumps for farm users and similar beneficial purposes in rural areas.

(c) The Government should undertake a large extension of the *System of Communications* by Roads, Telephones, Telegraphs and Wireless in order to bring the rural areas within the range of modern commercial industrial and agricultural equipment enterprise and operations.

Group C.

1. Village Administration.
2. Local Self-Government.
3. Rural Taxation.
4. Village Protection.

1. (a) That the Central and Provincial Governments in collaboration with the Legislatures and Local Bodies and Officials, individuals and associations in rural areas, should forthwith explore the practicability of restoring the Village as a self-administering unit through Village and Taluka Administration, with a view to adopting a general national policy of recreating and reorganising a progressive village democracy in the administrative and political frame work of India, as the basis of Indian Democracy.

(b) That a *Village Commonwealth Council* be established under statute to initiate and direct the operation of such a Policy as stated above.

2. That a Central Local Self-Government Board be established under Statute to study the working of Local Boards in different Districts and Tehsils in collaboration with Local Officials and representatives of rural areas, and to suggest ways for promoting greater efficiency and administration, and to act as a co-ordinating Central Body, with similar Provincial Boards for Provincial Supervision and Control.

3. That Government should undertake in collaboration with Local Governments and Local Officials and preparations of *Rural Statistics* and *Rural Economic Survey* through its Executive Staff, with a view to estimate, the burden of direct taxation and indirect taxation of the rural peoples in each Taluka or Tehsil per head per family and per village and its proportion to income per head, per family, per village, the burden of indebtedness, in each village with reasons for the debt and its duration, the sources of livelihood to agriculturists and rural workers, besides agriculture, existence of local crafts or small indus-

tries, the local conditions and resources for agricultural development and rural industries with a study of the local and social tendencies, prejudices and such other investigations into the economic conditions, facts and possibilities of rural life in villages.

4. The Government should consider the necessity of a *Rural Voluntary Constabulary* under the District and Taluka Police authorities to be trained by the Thana Police Officers of each group in the Tehsils or Talukas in different Districts as Peace Reserves for Emergency and normal Civil Guards for each village protection.

Group D.

1. Rural Education.
2. Crafts.

1. That a *Rural Educational Council* be established under Statute.

(a) To devise a curriculum of subjects for instruction of rural peoples in civics, general knowledge, crafts, economic efficiency, legal reliefs and remedies for local grievances, corporate discipline, social service, public morals and responsible citizenship and practice of rural government.

(b) To devise a common course of study, teaching and training for rural areas.

(c) To devise a common series of text books in instruction of rural peoples.

(d) To co-ordinate measures in collaboration with Provincial Governments and Departments of Education and Educational Institutions, to initiate the necessary changes in schools and teachers' training and qualifications.

(e) To devise a comprehensive plan with ways and means for the complete eradication of illiteracy and ignorance in a Fixed Period of Time.

(f) To devise a plan of a System of Central Rural Schools for every Taluka.

2. That instructions in handicrafts and small home industries be made compulsory in elementary schools.

3. (a) That instruction in physical culture, gymnastics and self-defence and games be made compulsory in all educational institutions.

(b) That physical training should be a compulsory part of the qualification of Teacher's Certificate.

(c) That instructions in First Aid, Ambulance and Scouting be made compulsory in all educational institutions as a necessary course for the School Leaving Examination.

Group E.

1. Administration.

2. Defence.

3. Police.

4. Health.

1. (a) That an *Administrative Re-organising Commission* be appointed under statute to consider and prepare, within a period of 5 years, a comprehensive plan of the amalgamation of the functions of different departments and the duties of separate officers, and to devise a scheme of an administrative system at once cheaper and quicker and more responsive to people's needs, grievances and reliefs in all matters—executive, judicial, etc., as only such a complete and thorough overhauling of the entire administrative system (which is a survival of Warren Hastings' time) in the light of modern needs and its adaptation to future developments can really effect any retrenchment by securing the maximum value from services in the matter of public utility; with a recasting of standards of qualifications salaries promotions and retirement or old age provisions as to cost least to the tax payers and particularly to the rural tax payers because in India the District Administration is essentially a rural administration.

(b) The Government should consider the necessity and possibilities of re-organising the functions and duties of Subordinate executive and revenue services in order to make them Agencies of Rural Reconstruction for both civic and economic efficiency and rural prosperity.

2. That Government in consultation with the Military Authorities should consider the advisability and possibilities of organisation of Voluntary Military Training Camps in Rural Areas for training and preparing youths in the arts of war to serve as the reservoir for defence and security in national emergency.

3. (a) That Government should consider the advisability and benefit to rural peoples in rural areas of compulsory training of Police Officials in all grades in First Aid, Ambulance, Hygiene and Sanitation.

(b) That the Department of Health with the aid of the executive services should plan and operate a campaign of instructions in Health and Hygiene, in rural areas by means of pictures, demonstrations, pamphlets, etc.

Group F.

1. Finance.
2. Tariffs.
3. Taxation.
4. Industrial Policy.

1. That an *Agricultural Banking Corporation* be established under Statute for financing agriculture in the country, as this is as essential and necessary as a Reserve Bank.

2. That taxation be based and administered on the principles of (1) "He pays more who has more"; (2) The minimum of burden on primary necessities like food and clothing; (3) The return of appropriation—directly or indirectly—of taxation to the tax payer in the form of public utility services, or actual services by the State for the tax

payer, intellectual and economic betterment apart from in addition to, mere preservation of administrative safety.

3. That affairs should be so regulated as not to be a burden on the primary producer and rural worker and that provision be made in all cases of protective duties for the supervision control and regulation of prices to prevent profiteering at the expense of the impoverished rural ryots.

4. That a Central Council of Industry be established under Statute like the Council of Agricultural Research to devise a plan and programme of ways and means, of suitable large scale and small industries all over the country for making the country self-sufficient and self-supplying in mechanical plant and products and transport.

5. That the recommendations of Sir Arthur Slater for the institution of an Economic Council be put in effect by the Government without delay.

6. That the recommendations of the Banking Inquiry Committee be put into effect by the Government without delay.

7. That the recommendations of the Agricultural Commission re : Marketing Boards for Rural Areas be put into effect by the Government without delay.

8. That the Government should consider the necessity of establishing a Farm Board as in U.S.A. for advising agricultural crops, markets and prices keeping in touch with world conditions of production, prices and trade.

PROPOSITIONS

1. The letter of Lady Vidyagavri Ramanbai, Chairman, Executive Committee.

2. The General Secretary, Mr. Ram Rai's statement of work and suggestions.

3. The audited statement of expenditure and income with accounts.

4. Special Banking Committee of the All India Rural Conference to prepare a Plan for an Agricultural Banking Corporation.

5. The formation of a Special Legislative Section to examine all measures in our rural aspect and their effects and consequences to village peoples and to consider and promote beneficial rural measures.

6. Formation of Council Rural Groups in Provincial and States Legislatures, for the purposes generally specified in Rural Bulletin No. 9, page 7 sent to every member to obtain maximum co-ordination of effort in promoting beneficial rural measure and preventing harmful measures—each individual and group having complete freedom for his other opinions and activities—social, religious or political or sectional.

7. Formation of a Rural Educational Section of distinguished Professors and Teachers in Universities, Colleges and Schools to devise plans and means for Rural Enlightenment Efficiency in furtherance of Resolutions Group B—Education of the All India Rural Conference.

8. Formation of a Special Economic Section for studying and examining (1) economic problems of Village Life; (2) Taxation and Tariff and Financial Measures; (3) Economic and Fiscal policies in their rural aspect or bearings on the life of villages and agriculturists.

9. Co-operation with All India Economic Conference, for Economic Inquiry consistent with A.I.R.C. Resolutions of Rural Economic Survey and Rural Statistics.

10. Co-operation with All India Federation in Educational Improvement and Extension Problems.

11. Co-operation with All India Women's Conference in Village Work.

12. (a) Request to All India Public Bodies to nominate members for co-option on the General Council of the A.I.R.C. Policy and Programme.

(b) Request to All India Provincial and District Public Bodies to support the A.I.R.C. Policy and Programme and assist in local Rural Organisation.

13. (a) Request to Universities for active interest and co-operation in the problem of Rural Economics and Rural Education.

(b) Request to Professors and Teachers to study and initiate study and interest in Village Life and Rural Problems among students in Colleges and Schools.

(c) Request to students and youths to organise Rural Picnics and Rural Tours and Lectures and Economic Inquiries and Rural Exhibitions and Shows.

14. Request to Institutions of Art to initiate and develop a Rural Technique and inaugurate a new Rural Art, and interest students in visiting villages and portraiture of Rural Life, and awakening an interest in Art among rural folk.

15. Request to all news papers to have a distinct *Rural Page* once a month at least for the discussion of Rural Problems and Village Needs and Agriculturists' grievances.

16. Request to District Boards to adopt Resolutions of Appreciation and Support of the A.I.R.C. Policy and Programme.

17. Request to Members of Legislatures (1) to initiate and assist in Local Rural Organisation and Local Rural Work; and (2) from Council Rural Groups and protecting and advancing agriculturists' interest in Legislatures.

18. Request to Members of Local Boards, Legal and Medical Professions and local gentry and young men and women to actively interest themselves in rural work and rural organisation.

19. Thanks to Local Boards and other Bodies who have expressed their appreciation and support of the A.I.R.C. work.

20. The All India Rural Organisation Plan prepared and submitted by Mr. Raim Rai as published in the Rural Bulletin No. 10 and 8 (sent to every member).

21. Suggestions for Ways and Means and Estimates as published in the Rural Bulletin Nos. 3, 4 and 5 (sent to every member).

22. Special Constitution Commission to consider the existing plan, and the suggested plans—see yellow booklet of the A.I.R.C. and the Rural Bulletin Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 10 re : Organisation, Ways and Means and Estimates, etc., specified above and to frame and recommend a Constitution for this All India Rural Conference work policy, organisation, administration, finances, rules, regulations, etc., and to report to the next Sessions of the General Council and Conference.

23. Formation of provincial or divisional and district and taluka and Rural Local Committees of the A.I.R.C. in all parts and request to prominent citizens and workers for assisting in and undertaking Local Rural Organisation of the A.I.R.C.

24. Appeal to Candidates for Legislatures to adopt and support the A.I.R.C. Policy and Programme and work the same as may be feasible and practical through Legislatures and educate rural peoples, and organise villages, in support of the non-party, non-sectional, all acceptable A.I.R.C. Policy and Programme and appeal to rural voters to vote for candidates who publicly adopt and support the All India Rural Conference Policy and Programme selecting the best among them for election, leaving to each candidate option and freedom for his opinions and activities in other matters—social, political, religious or sectional according to his group or party, and expecting him to co-operate, collaborate and combine for rural beneficiary measures—the immediate programme being :—

1. Eradication of illiteracy.
2. Rural Mass Education and Enlightenment.
3. Rural Self-Government :—

A. Village Self-Administration.

B. Self-Defence.

4. Rural Economic Reconstruction.
5. A. Agricultural Banking Corporation—
Agricultural Improvement,
Village Industries and
Rural Development.
B. Chartered Peasants' Bank.
Debt Redemption and
Current Small Loans.

APPENDIX

II

INDUSTRIALISATION

The exigencies and inevitable necessities of this **WAR** have induced the Government in India to patronise and permit the utilization and establishment of several small and large industries and to promote specialised training of technicians and craftsmen.

The most remarkable development is the establishment of Air Craft Industry in Mysore State and Ship Building Industry at Vizagapatam announced but now in the Press. The Automobile Industry must quickly follow as a matter of course. The credit for these enterprises in Aircraft and Ship Building and Automobiles is due to the initiative and persistence of Mr. Walchand Hirachand of the *Scindhia's* the modern greatest Steamship Company of India founded by the late Mr. Narottam Morarjee of the eminent philanthropist family of Shet Morarjee Gokuldas. Mr. Walchand and his friends will have a niche in the history of Indian economic development as new industrial pioneers of future India.

The present scope in these aircraft and ship-building industries is to be limited, but its expansion must follow. It will tax the diplomacy and commonsense of businessmen and politicians in India and Britain to avoid a definite clash of interests about the further unimpeded progress of these particular industries and further planned and co-ordinated industrialisation of India after the war without any reversal in policy under the influence of British interests.

